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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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26 November 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

WEST GERMAN BOOK ON COUNTRY REVIEWED BY MUNICH SOURCE

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 1 Oct 85 p 9

[Review by Heiko Flottau of the book "Das einsame Albanien. Reportage aus dem Land der Skipetaren." [The Lonely Country of Albania--Reportage From the Land of the Skipetars] Edition Interfrom, Osnabrueck/Zurich, 118 pages, paperback, DM 14]

[Text] It does not happen often that Albania opens its doors and gives journalists the opportunity to catch a glimpse of the country. For a few years, however, since about 1982, the Albanian communists, who rule the country, have occasionally opened the borders of the country a little. Typically or perhaps surprisingly, as far as is known only correspondents from Western or neutral countries have been permitted to enter.

One of the few who gained access--twice at that--is Paul Lendvai. Hungarian by birth, Lendvai left his country in 1956 and in the years thereafter made a name for himself as an expert on East Europe with articles in Western papers and books. Today Paul Lendvai heads the East and Southeast Europe Division of Austrian Radio and Television.

Paul Lendvai has summed up what he saw and heard in the "land of the Skipetars" (that is what the Albanians call themselves) in a small book. It was written and published shortly before Enver Hoxha's death. The more than 100 highly readable pages--to the extent that this is possible--present a telling picture of Albania--a country which was largely shut off from the outside world not because the population wanted to be but on the orders of the ruling oligarchy. It is of course not possible to work freely as a journalist in Albania; as a rule, visible or invisible companions note whatever one does.

It is amazing what Paul Lendvai managed to come up with under these circumstances. First the author interprets Hoxha's politics by quoting Elias Canetti about this type of dictator: the man in power wants to rule alone, wants to rule everyone and wants to survive everyone; as far as he is concerned, the other people only exist to be ruled.

Hoxha's means of rule, as Paul Lendvai points out fairly correctly, was the communist ideology. With it he built up his power, and with it he sought to perpetuate this power. This ideology was then complemented by the historical experience of the Albanians, who had been ruled by other powers for centuries

and now wanted to shut themselves off in order finally to be able to determine their own destiny. Isolation became the second pillar of Hoxha's power. The third pillar, which supported the first two, was extreme egalitarianism. It originated with Hoxha's personal puritanism, and thus his personal interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. Puritanism, Marxism and nationalism--on these three pillars the power of the Albanian communists rests to this day.

Lendvai interprets the "palace intrigues and Byzantine machinations of Albanian domestic policy" as a continuation of the old tribal struggles--and very likely is right. In the final analysis, it was the sole ruler--Enver Hoxha--who best mastered these combined tools of Albanian rule.

In his analysis Lendvai does not, however, by any means fail to mention the fact that there has been considerable social progress in Albania under communist rule. The school and educational system was built up, illiteracy probably was largely overcome, and today woman is supposed to be a partner with equal rights, though the traditional male privileges have not disappeared.

Further correct analyses of this book include the one (not very much the liking of the Yugoslavs) that Albania has not interfered in events in Albanian-inhabited Kosovo, which is part of Yugoslavia, and also has not by any means promoted the unrest there.

His considerable knowledge of Albania notwithstanding, Paul Lendvai is forthright enough to conclude his book with the admission that there is a lot he does not or cannot know. "Interrogation marks and no answers form the conclusion of this inventory," he writes. His final analysis is nevertheless to the point: "The ideological garb notwithstanding, Hoxha's heritage remains an Albania which for the first time in its history enjoys full and unrestricted sovereignty and freedom of decision. In this sense, one can speak of a truly new Albania, whose outstanding characteristic nevertheless, paradoxically, has remained the continuing desire to defend its national identity. If one disregards the primacy of the national factor, one cannot understand anything in Albanian history."

8790/12859

CSO: 2300/26

BULGARIA

UNESCO PRESS CONFERENCE IN SOFIA REPORTED

AU092129 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Oct 85 p 6

[Text] Henri Lopez, speaker of the UNESCO Director General, spoke at a press conference held on 7 October in Sofia on the occasion of the 23d session of the UNESCO General Conference, scheduled to open in Sofia on 9 October 1985.

He addressed journalists from Bulgarian and foreign media accredited to the 23d session of the UNESCO General Conference. He stated as follows: "The 23d session of the UNESCO General Conference which will open at the Lyudmila Zhivkova people's palace of culture is a historical event."

Since the foundation of UNESCO 40 years ago the session in Sofia is the eighth session held outside the UNESCO headquarters in Paris. As Thomas Keller, secretary general of the General Conference and Mr Lopez pointed out, UNESCO highly appreciates the invitation of the Bulgarian Government to hold the session in Sofia, which demonstrates the adherence of this country to the noble goals and ideals of the world organization. Since the very beginning of its UNESCO membership Bulgaria has actively participated in the projects and programs of the organization and has hosted on several occasions important initiatives of the organization, for which the UNESCO leadership is very grateful and pays tribute to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Recalling the fact that the United States has withdrawn from UNESCO, Mr Lopez declared that this fact is worth considering, since it affects the universal character of the organization and is actually directed against the entire system of the United Nations. Those who are in favor of a world "without the United Nations" are preparing for a world deprived of multilateral cooperation. This would signify a return to the limited and selective forms of exchange and communications, which do not exclude pressure, and this leads to a policy of confrontation. This signifies turning our backs on dialogue and on the ideals of peace and solidarity.

UNESCO has 160 member-countries, the majority of which are represented by their delegations at the Sofia session. Many of them are headed by ministers.



The adoption of a program and budget of the organization is one of the main items on the agenda of each session. The tasks of UNESCO throughout the forthcoming 2 years will be discussed in Sofia. The session of the General Conference is expected to end on 12 November. All meetings will be held at the People's Palace of Culture in a new section, specially built for the forum. According to the representatives of UNESCO, these premises offer excellent working conditions, and in certain respects are even superior to those of the Paris headquarters.

/9871

CSO: 2200/29

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## CONFLICTS IN SOCIETY SEEN AS CAUSES OF CHANGE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 85 p 4

[Excerpts] The dialectic approach is the "soul" of Marxism, making it living, creative learning, and enabling us to study social development as a process containing inner contradictions and qualitative changes. It is not by accident that coupled with the concept of the dialectic approach are questions and deliberations about the present and the future, about stages of development of socialist society. Everyday experience indicates the need for it. A socialist society is evolving through processes of inner contradictions and it demands recognition of the causes and resolution of these processes.

Dialectic materialism makes it possible to examine life of a society as a process controlled by laws, process of which each new phase begins when the material and spiritual conditions that are essential to it become ripe. Social changes in the specific phases of socialism represent a complex of far-reaching qualitative changes that run through technical, economic, and social class relationships in the political sphere and in the consciousness of the people. This process must be identified and managed as a system in which reciprocal conditioning and influencing of one sphere by another are taking place, a system that evolves from inner contradictions.

Inner contradictions in socialism represent one of the key theoretical and practical problems of social development. At present, the nature of inner contradictions is being researched, as is their objective and subjective character. Even today, it is necessary to overcome the methodologically untenable, and politically harmful perception that sees inner contradictions in socialism as an abnormality resulting from "merely" subjective mistakes.

Historic experience shows that even under socialist conditions the law of unity and of struggle of inner contradictions is the basis of social development. An analysis of inner contradictions makes possible identification of the underlaying laws and moving forces of development, and based on this to raise the level of scientific management of processes that are taking place in the evolutionary process, identify goals and the most important sectors on which the attention in economic, organizational, and cadre efforts must be focussed.

From the historic perspective, socialism is a relatively young social organism, a society that does not yet have enough experience with purposeful regulation

of [social] processes that are unfolding within it. It is a dynamic, fast developing society, with relationships and groupings that are characteristic of it growing ever more complex and many faceted. It is for this reason that it is important to advance methods of deliberate intervention in the socio-economic and socio-political life, and to harmonize the styles of management of social processes with new demands [on it]. The more advanced socialism becomes, the more important becomes the scientific approach to the identification of the demands, reflecting our respect for objective laws, and the dialectics of societal and special group interests. This means that the importance of objective factors is growing, including the leadership role of the party, of working collectives, organizations and even individuals.

In socialism, as in any other organism, creative as well as reactionary tendencies are at work, a struggle between the old and the new is taking place. Bureaucratization, love of comfortable routine, inertia and conservatism of thought and action complicate social development and represent serious obstacles [to development]. Inner contradictions within a society do not occur outside of members of that society, their thinking, their actions. They result from human actions, they grow and are resolved by it, whether people realize it in one way or another, accurately or with distortion. It has always been this way, but now for the first time in socialism preconditions are being created for a conscious management of this process. People are the carriers of dialectic relationships, in their roles as producers and consumers, mental or physical workers, those who lead or are led.

Socialist production relationships opened the way for the growth of productive forces. Modern industry and agriculture, the living standard of the working people--these are the results of development to date. Some aspects of production relationships, especially models of management, or planning and distribution lag behind the growth of productive forces. This generates tension which is the source of difficulties also in the other spheres of the society and demands clear resolution. Various measures are being taken to stimulate workers' activity in the desired direction. The issue here is intervention in the wage, price, tax and social policy. The central issue is to have people in collectives act responsibly, to induce harmony between "mine and ours." In that fashion the dialectic relationship of collectives and group interests is realized.

In the area of the development of the political system the issue is the strengthening and improving socialist democracy that offers every citizen the opportunity of active participation in political life and decision making process.

Rising the quality of socialist democracy strengthens equal rights and freedom of every citizen and creates conditions that enable every citizen to make effective and realistic use of them. The precondition for the realization of democracy is discipline; without a stable order, democracy is an empty phrase. We are talking about conscious discipline under conditions of good organization, discipline that has nothing in common with mechanical obedience. An orderly process of strengthening socialist democracy cannot be accomplished by substituting pseudodemocratic forms, but only by searching for effective

forms of participation of the working people in the management of the economic and political spheres of life of a society. These issues are dealt with, for example, in the discussions of the 6th Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, "On Tasks of National Committees after the XVI Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia," in 'Law on Working Collectives and the Increase of Their Role in the Management of Plants, Institutions and Organizations'", adopted in the USSR in 1983, and similar.

We can find inner contradictions in the private, inner, every day life without the help of theory; in the uncivilized behavior of some people; in the lopsided ordering of priorities, mostly consumer type in character; in excessive wasting of one's time and the often "easily" acquired money. In the growing consumption of alcoholic beverages, negative nature of some individuals' behavior, and vandalism against public property.

The standard of living in socialism has its qualitative and quantitative sides, and to reach harmony between these is an ambitious and long range process. Statistics suggest that according to some indicators the standard of living is rising. The number of automobiles in circulation, iceboxes, television sets, etc. We can even point to a world wide increase in consumption of certain mind nourishing assets; books are being sold, records, and trips to theatrical performances are being organized. Unfortunately, everything is included in these statistics. People line up to buy things of higher artistic value, as well as detective stories. There is no doubt, as confirmed by research, that with some people the standard of living takes on the shape of scissors. It is heading in different directions with inner contradictions growing between the material and the spiritual aspects of the living standard, between qualitative and quantitative aspects of peoples' lives.

There is no doubt that it is in the first place the managers who are responsible for solving processes of contradiction, to find and apply measures that will overcome tension and assure development in the sphere they manage and have responsibility for. This is not to say that the dialectic approach is only for the top management and economic workers. Everywhere where public affairs are dealt with, where shortcomings, difficulties, mistakes in form of formalism, routine and indifference, and other manifestations that aggravate social progress exist, every worker, every citizen has his share of responsibility. Every one of us can by his actions, behavior, and access to public life influence the everyday life of the society. As long as the entire society fully adopts the dialectic thinking method, it will become an effective weapon in the solving of practical problems.

12876/12379  
CSO: 2400/12

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CMOLIK REMINDS MASS MEDIA OF TASKS, GOALS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Otto Cmolik, nominee for the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, section head of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party]

[Excerpts] The Press, Radio and Television Day has become an important tradition of our socialist society. It falls on 21 September, the day when 65 years ago the first edition of RUDE PRAVO was published.

This year, the Press, Radio and Television Day took on a special meaning. It is taking place at a time when the Czechoslovak Communist Party together with all of our society has begun immediate preparations for the 17th Party Congress. Its importance rests most of all in that it will evaluate the results of socialist progress since the 16th Congress, as well as the whole period of building developed socialism beginning with the 70s, and will set the goals for the further development of our society. The main task facing us is the acceleration of the dynamics of the socialist economic development based on a more vigorous application of the products of science and technology. No less important are the tasks in the foreign policy area, particularly in the CSSR participation in the common struggle with the Soviet Union, other sister socialist countries and all progressive forces, to avert nuclear war and preserve peace.

A successful resolution of these questions requires that communists and all working people correctly understand the new tasks set forth during the preparations for the Congress at the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and actively participate in their implementation in practice. In this connection, the party press and the mass media are cast in an especially important role.

We consider as paramount to have our propaganda, especially in the mass information media, firmly linked to the practical tasks of the party policies, the National Front, the socialist state. That is the basic assumption if the mass media are to fulfill their mission in the spirit of the great demands of the times.

The underlying premise for successful work by a socialist newspaperman is an unconditional devotion to socialism, the policies of the communist

party, Marxist-Leninist beliefs, a sense of responsibility to the working people. It is essential, therefore, to give unremitting care to cultivating qualified, ideologically and morally steadfast newspaper cadres. In this respect it is necessary to improve the system of their political and professional preparation.

The press, radio and television have a considerable responsibility to mold the thinking of the public on economic matters, for educating them to be informed husbandmen and responsible citizens of a socialist state. Their task is to bring people to a full understanding of the fact that the improvement of living standards of an individual depends on his work, his work collective, and the contribution he makes to the development of the whole society. Publicity on the economy must always have its basis in real life, in the everyday efforts of work collectives, make a relevant and competent analysis of their work results, convincingly point out what is essential in the struggle for quality production, growth of labor productivity, application in practice of the results of science and technology.

The Central Committee and its agencies have often, and correctly, stressed the responsibility of the managers in ministries, economic production units and other work places, to speak out regularly in the information media. It is a highly responsible, important political task, which requires a critical and self-critical approach, and not just a one-sided promotion of results achieved in one's own enterprise, in one's own sector.

Information media as an important forum for the exchange of opinions and experiences among workers, farm workers and the intelligentsia, have to become ever more a place where the public is widely informed about task fulfillment, about plans and problems which are being resolved in various sectors of the life of our society. We should see to it, therefore, that managers frequently appear and speak in the information media, which as was stressed at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in March 1980, unquestionably helps to strengthen the authority of the state, responsible departments, and even individual workers.

Life provides us with sufficient proof that without a struggle against specific shortcomings we will not be able to realize successfully the socio-economic programs of the party. We are not talking about a struggle for its own sake, formalistic, but one that is based on principle, is constructive and in the interest of society and socialism.

The prestige of an enterprise, plant, or the authority of socialism will not be harmed if we pursue eradication of shortcomings. They will be harmed if shortcomings are publicly pointed out, but there is no remedy and everything goes on as before. To accept well-founded, sober criticism, to draw from it the correct conclusions, that is a sign of maturity, not weakness, on the part of those to whom it is addressed. To be sure--criticism for the sake of criticism does not help, does not lead to anywhere.

It can do its work only if it is preceded by correct analysis, conscientious verification of all the facts, when it shows the way out, leading to solutions. Such criticism belongs among the rights, as well as the duties, of the media, the party press most of all.

The building of a developed socialist society, the fulfillment of its humanistic goals is taking place on the frontlines of an ever more focused struggle between the forces of war and peace, progress and reaction, socialism and capitalism. In this confrontation the role of the media is growing immensely, as well as the importance of ready, truthful, in its substantiality deeply persuasive, information.

More and more often do the propaganda centers of imperialism resort to half-truths, disinformation, falsification of reality and downright lies. Their "crusade" against communism and all that stands in the way of the hegemonistic, aggressive goals of imperialism, is attested to daily by many facts. To persuasively disclose the militaristic policies and reactionary plans of imperialism, the falsifications and treacherous methods of bourgeois propaganda, to objectively and effectively show the humanism, strength and virtues of socialism, instill in our people a sense of pride in their socialist country, that is the foremost task of our propaganda.

Further, of fundamental importance is to actively help strengthen international relations with sister countries, consolidate the unshakable friendship with the Soviet Union, which is the foundation of our freedom and security as a state and nation, of happy life of our socialist motherland. To consistently and specifically show the deep meaning and content of the peace program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the enormous effort, which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries exert in the interest of preserving peace and ensuring the relaxation or removal of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe.

12605/9190  
CSO: 2400/612

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INTERNATIONAL MEETING ON WORK DISCIPLINE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] An international conference on the part played by labor unions in increasing workers' discipline opened last Tuesday in Prague. Participants are the secretaries and key officials from union headquarters in Bulgaria, CSSR, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Roumania, USSR, Cuba and Outer Mongolia.

The experience of the CS unions in strengthening work discipline was related by Jiri Neubert who opened the 3 day conference. He pointed out the significance of advancing work discipline as an important source of an intensive development of national economy. He spoke about the methods and forms of educational activity of the unions in working collectives, especially in the deliberate development of work incentives, socialist competition, brigades of socialist labor, complex rationalization brigades, and the movement of inventors and innovators that are effectively contributing to the strengthening of work discipline.

During the follow-up discussions the representatives from union headquarters in the socialist countries emphasized the need for the strengthening of civic consciousness, and that a serious initiatives-directed work is the foundation of the rising standard of living, a guaranty of socialist progress.

12876/12379  
CSO: 2400/21



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WEST GERMAN RESPONSE TO CSSR INITIATIVE REVIEWED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Sep 85 p 7

[Excerpt] Wolfgang Schäuble, minister in the Office of the Federal Chancellor, expressed a negative attitude of the Bonn government toward the initiative of the CSSR and the German Socialist Republic governments to begin discussions on creating a zone free of chemical weapons in Central Europe.

In an interview given to the German Press Agency and published on Wednesday by the press of the German Federal Republic, W. Schäuble stated that the Federal Government "does not see at present any potential for strengthening the security of the German Federal Republic and placing the stability of Europe on a firmer basis" in the discussions suggested by the CSSR and German Democratic Republic governments. He pointed out the peculiarity of such a statement himself by reiterating the "desire" of the Bonn government to achieve a world-wide ban on chemical weapons. This is clear proof of their two-faced policy--great words but no action.

The federal government of the German Federal Republic thus made clear that even in the case of a peace initiative by the CSSR and the German Democratic Republic governments to begin negotiations on forming a chemical free zone in Central Europe it does not intend to deviate from the line dictated by the USA.

Another proof of this is the fact that at the beginning of the week a delegation of the armed services committee of the West German Parliament held talks in the Pentagon and the U.S. Congress concerning American plans for the modernization of chemical weapons.

As we have made known previously, the suggestion for negotiations for the zone have been rejected also by the parliament members of the government parties Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Union.

The West German newspaper UNSERE ZEIT on Wednesday called the initial reaction of the West German Government and Government parties Christian Democratic Union/Christian Socialist Union to the initiative of the CSSR and the German Democratic Republic governments premature, reckless and irresponsible.

The newspaper points out the fact that the government spokesman on one hand promised a thorough study of this offer, but at the same time disparaged it by calling it a partial solution and demagogically asking for a "world-wide" ban on chemical weapons. At the same time, the newspaper writes, it is well known that in our country as well as in the countries of the principal U.S. allies, poisons are being stockpiled, which is what mostly constitutes the "world-wide" chemical weapons potential. Is it that stockpiling of chemical weapons is to be finished first, before the thought of liquidating them is to be considered? asks the newspaper. At the same time it stresses that the suggestions of the CSSR and the German Democratic Republic governments lead to a concrete and controlled single step on the road to an all-European and ultimately total ban on all chemical weapons.

The newspaper further reminds that such a total ban has been debated in Geneva for the past 15 years and that it is precisely the USA which is the obstacle to progress. In the meantime, it is producing new, more dangerous chemical weapons, which it wants to deploy also in the German Federal Republic. This hypocritical effort on the part of the West to reach a "world-wide" solution has so far only contributed to an inexorable increase in regional stockpiles of chemical weapons, writes the press agency of the German Communist Party..

12605/9190

CSO: 2400/612

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DANUBE DAM PLANS WELL RECEIVED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] (From correspondent Gejza Vilcek in Budapest) The Hungarian news media have been showing an increasing interest in the construction of the water works on the Danube in the area of Gabčíkovo and Nagymaros.

At first, the public was primarily interested in the ecological implications of the project that has no counterpart in the history of Hungarian construction and water management. Later, attention focussed on the economic implications of the construction. The official organ of the Central Committee of the MSDS NESPSZABADSAG is emphasizing the fact that both Hungary and Czechoslovakia share equally in the enormous investment. At the same time, it underlines that on the CSSR side the degree of completion has surpassed 50 percent, while only eight to nine percent of the project has been completed on the Hungarian side. The trade union daily NEPSZAVA mentions, among other things, that the Hungarian expenditure in the investment will reach 34 billion Florint. With an output of 1,8 billion kilowatt-hours of electric current annually, the return from electricity generated above will repay this expenditure in 15 years, not to mention other benefits that this undertaking will bring to shipping on the Danube, protection of the environment, protection against floods etc.

The organ of the Patriotic Peoples' Front, Magyar Nemzet, appreciates the ecological value of the construction, that will increase still more the beauty of the Danube basin north of Budapest, and will force towns on the banks of the river to accelerate construction of water treatment plants. This aspect has also been pointed to on the TV that emphasized how, for example, cities like Győr, Komárom, and Óstrihom have been postponing construction of long ago planned for water treatment plants, and how the attention generated by the construction of the giant water works will force them to accelerate these projects. The daily MAGYAR HIRLAP published an interview with the director general of the State Water Management-investment Authority, Miklós Szanto, who said in closing: "After all the talking there is time for real work."

12876/12379  
CSO: 2400/21

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MILITARY ALLIANCE TO USSR, WARSAW PACT AFFIRMED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 27, 1985 (signed to press 1 Jul 85) p 3

[Unattributed article: "Adopt Combat Positions--Perform a Decisive Contribution to Preserve Peace; a Working Group of the Ministry for National Defense and Secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the NVA Evaluated the 10th Central Committee Session"]

[Text] On 27 June 1985, the Working Group of the Ministry for National Defense and the Secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the NVA [National Peoples Army] dealt with the tasks of the NVA and GDR Border Troops. These tasks resulted from the 10th CC [Central Committee] Session in preparation for the 11th Party Congress of the SED and from the Politburo resolution, stressed in the report of the Politburo of the SED CC, regarding PHV [Political Main Administration] reporting on the politico-ideological work for the fulfillment of the class mission decided on by the 10th Party Congress. The session was headed by Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the SED CC and Minister for National Defense.

Army General Hoffmann stressed the significance of the documents of the latest CC plenum and of the Politburo's position regarding the Political Main Administration's report. They illustrate, in particular the speech of the General Secretary of the CC of the SED, Comrade Erich Honecker, the present and future challenges. For the communists in the armed forces and border troops of the GDR, this means further strengthening socialism's defense force jointly with all army members and border soldiers, in close alliance with the working class and all working people, thereby making a decisive contribution to the preservation of peace.

Colonel General Heinz Kessler, member of the CC of the SED, deputy minister for national defense and chief of the Political Main Administration of the NVA, in his remarks referred to the fact that the documents of the 10th CC session and the Politburo's position are to be translated into the conceptional work of the leadership bodies, and the qualitative factors of growth in national defense, the efficiency of the work of superiors, the intensification of combat training, as well as the unity of military matters and science, are to be moved into the foreground with more emphasis. They are

at the same time to form the basis of the Marxist-Leninist qualification of the cadres, as well as the mass political work, thus the pronouncement of the people, in preparation for the 11th Party Congress.

General Colonel Kessler stated: "We must, on the basis of our balance sheet, time and again convincingly make the army members and border soldiers aware of the magnitude of what has been achieved and make them deeply aware of its inspiring prospects, its dimensions, lying as goals before us. Faced with the somber background of the social reality of capitalism, the characteristic phenomena of decline of which our general secretary so vividly depicted in his speech, the values and merits of the socialist order of society stand out all the more clearly."

The Politburo's position is a meaningful viewpoint for evaluating the 10th session of the SED CC. Standards are set for us by it; standards which must be imposed on our work, beginning with the evaluation of the plenum, at party elections in the base organizations and at the conferences of delegates.

#### Most Serious Threat to World Peace by Imperialism

The significance of the tasks is emphasized by the assessment of the international situation in the Politburo's report and general secretary's speech. "Under the leadership of the Reagan Administration, the militant forces of NATO are intensifying the conceptional, material and ideological preparation for war against the Warsaw Pact countries," Colonel General Kessler said. "This is also underscored by the last two series of meetings of NATO leadership circles, at which extensive measures were passed for the long-term material support of the warfare concepts." Also in the "85 White Paper" which FRG Minister of Defense Woerner submitted a few days ago, the political and military leadership of the FRG declares its support for the USA's warfare concepts. The Bundeswehr is granted a "key role" in central Europe. Moreover, guidelines are given there for a more effective pro-imperialist and anticommunist manipulation of the FRG population.

In the interest of fulfilling their political and military duties, all army members and border soldiers must be made deeply aware that the USA's and NATO's course of high armament and confrontation has "led to the most serious threat to world peace since the end of the Second World War," as the 10th CC session assessed it.

#### Fighting Strength and Combat Readiness -- Highest Criterion of Party Work

In his further statements, Colonel General termed fighting strength and combat readiness the highest and most important criterion of party work. He referred to the good and very good results which army and naval forces had attained in combat exercises and in cooperation with units of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. Reserves should be tapped for further rise in performance by sound leadership activity at all levels, by a high level of combat training, high standards of evaluation, efficient use of training time and all available funds. Our combat technology, weaponry and equipment plays a decisive role in

this. Being controlled by humans and employed according to their parameters, it is a first-rate efficiency factor for combat readiness.

"All in all," the chief of the PHV said, "it is a matter of raising the level of the entire leadership activity to such a height that it permits fully putting into effect the knowledge and ability, as well as the performance readiness, of all army members and border soldiers, and in this way increasing the fighting strength and combat readiness at the pace called for by the party. The extensive politico-ideological work and the experiences gained from it are to be taken up in connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people in preparation for the coming social highlights, in which arranging the 30th anniversary of the NVA is to be made an essential component of the people's movement for preparing the 11th Party Congress of the SED.

#### Fulfilling Our Patriotic and Internationalist Duty

Colonel General Kessler said that the important thing in the politico-ideological work is for the army members to attain full harmony between commitment to political training and action in daily service, to strengthen the comradeship-in-arms with the Soviet army and the other armies of the Warsaw Pact, and to broaden the knowledge about historical development and its laws. Every army member should distinguish himself by an unshakeable socialist class consciousness and conscious military discipline. All superiors and communists are to be included in the ideological work for that purpose. More concrete historical knowledge is also necessary. He said: "Where antifascist resistance fighters and activists of the first hour report from their struggles and their lives, where with films such as 'Liberation' or 'The Victory', with memoir literature and belles lettres about the significance of the victory of the Soviet people and its armed forces in the Great Patriotic War, social causes and backgrounds, as well as the historical course of these events, are illustrated from experience, that is where we have achieved lasting effects." In addition to the unit history and tradition rooms, the book "Army for Peace and Socialism - History of the National Peoples Army of the GDR" which is appearing in the fourth quarter, should be used.

The chief of the PHV went on to say: "Everything that we do--our entire party work serves in the final analysis to enhance the fighting strength and combat readiness of the National Peoples Army and the Border Troops of the GDR. That is our decisive battlefield on which it is a question, as Comrade Erich Honecker phrased it in principle, 'of the communists' combative positions, of the political motivation for a high contribution of performance and being well-informed', as well as incorporating it all into solving the tasks'--in combination with qualified leadership activity." In this way the party elections starting in autumn will make further progress for us.

Comrade Kessler expressly emphasized the special responsibility toward the Free German Youth [FDJ] as the party's helpers and fighting reserves. The FDJ organizations should be helped--principally through the support of experienced communists and through the work of young members and candidates in

the youth organization--to evaluate the 12th Parliament and to organize a stimulating political and intellectual-cultural life with the aim of producing high achievements, especially in the Ernst Thaelmann Contingent. Preparing the most active FDJ members for admission into the SED has great significance for the party organizations and the FDJ.

In conclusion, Colonel General Kessler stressed: "It is essential to create fighting positions everywhere in order to successfully conclude the 2nd training semester and carefully prepare the 1985/86 training year so that we fulfill our patriotic and internationalist duty with the highest possible results in honor of the 11th Party Congress of the SED."

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EXTENT OF IMPROVEMENT IN BASIC MEDICAL CARE ASSESSED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUR KLINISCHE MEDIZIN No 15, Jul 85 pp 1143-1145

[Article by Hagen Gehrke and Manfred Dueckert, Department of Health and Social Welfare]

/Text/ In German Democratic Republic basic medical care is being improved. In the rural areas and in the small towns the family physician has been accepted as a matter of course. In the larger cities like Berlin the best possible method for the establishment of a close physician-patient relationship is the setting-up of local medical centers. For 20 years now general practitioners have been working in such medical centers in the Berlin district of Mitte. No citizen need walk more than 500 m to the nearest physician. In addition to cooperation with the social authorities, these medical centers are responsible for the out-patient care for certain population groups, such as, for example, the elderly, large families, victims of the Nazi regime, or for groups with diagnosed illnesses: juvenile hypertensives, diabetics, and those with hepatitis. If the same general practitioner continues working in the medical center for a long time, the situation can be compared with that in the small town. As a result stable physician-patient relations can develop.

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Address of the authors: H. Gehrke, M.C., Abteilung Gesundheitsund Sozialwesen des Magistrats von Berlin, Hauptstadt der DDR, DDR-1020 Berlin, Parochialstrasse 1/3

Since the mid-1970's the basic medical care in the GDR is being improved, especially in the areas of ambulatory and stationary medical care, "which regularly care for the citizen and are used by him most often" (6) For example, during the last ten years this had led to a significant increase in the number of general practitioners (Table 1). This is a prior condition so that "citizens everywhere can make use of their right to select the physician they can have confidence in (family physician) and to obtain his advice without difficulties and to request his assistance" (3). Thus was realized what the working class already demanded from the Communist Manifesto (1848) on through the Erfurt Program (1881) on to the health program of the KPD (1921) (1).



Table 1. Development of the ambulatory medical capacities on the whole and in the general practice during the years 1975-1983 in Berlin

	Physicians' offices		Annual average in manpower units		
	Number	as %	Number	as %	
1975	1,523 537	100.0 24.6	1,511.4 500.1	100.0 22.8	total general practice
1980	1,761 587	100.0 23.0	1,742.7 552.5	100.0 20.3	total general practice
1983	1,828 621	100.0 34.0	1,760.8 597.9	100.0 33.9	total general practice

In the GDR today the family physician principle is being adopted everywhere step by step. Depending upon the local situation different paths are followed. In rural areas and in smaller cities family physician care has already become a matter of course' in industrial areas and in large cities it is still contended with many times. There is no argument that in this development the specialists play a central role in general practice. Among other things this can be seen in the number of ambulatory consultations and the number of house calls made. As of December 31, 1983, in Berlin the proportion of general practitioners came to only 35 percent of the physicians dealing with ambulatory cases. Upon the representatives of this specialty fell, however, around 77 percent of all house calls and 35.4 percent of all ambulatory medical care (Table 2). Through the further development of physician-patient relationships based upon confidence, that are of primary importance for the satisfaction of the patients, this potential, however, must be utilized even more strongly.

Just as in the case of Magyar and coworkers (7) our own investigations also found that more than 80 percent of the patients desire close physician-patient relationships and then can turn to their family physician with problems even when these are not of a directly medical nature (2).

In a rural or small town care situation the family physician bonds developed more quickly than in a large city. Physician and patients live in a common neighborhood, which can be readily observed and offers for the patients hardly any possibilities of a wider choice among a number of physicians. In Berlin in contrast in 1983 the citizens of Berlin could choose the physician in whom they had confidence from among 381 general practitioners in out-patient clinics, ambulatory or stationary (state or private). If a patient, however, seeks "his" physician too far away from his neighborhood, then for the development of a family medical care the latter lacks important personal knowledge of the living conditions of the patient. There is also a limitation to the contact interface of the physician with the people, with whom his patient is in constant interaction, and the knowledge of social relations is lost. A firm, formal referral of patients to a certain physician for the basic care, however, also cannot be the means of selection. Above all, the right often based upon law for the free choice of a physician must remain protected. It may not be amended or cancelled through any type of regulation.

If the form is examined which is best suited for the development of methods for family practice care in big cities and industrial parks, the result is always more compellingly the system of medical centers. In contrast to the discussions of the 1960's, during which medical centers and district physicians were already official goals of the health system (4); however from the viewpoint in 1985 this problem must be approached in a different manner. The concept of district physician today has a firm place in occupational health systems, and its obligations there are clearly outlined. An additional application in ambulatory medical basic care for that reason should be avoided. The division into "medical centers" in contrast is well suited to solve organizational problems that exist particularly in large cities.

Ambulatory health installations along with the purely medical also have social obligations. This requires a highly social interest on the part of each physician, especially each general practitioner. First of all, we are dealing

Table 2. Ambulatory medical care as a whole and the portion of general capacities and performance in 1983 in Berlin

	Total	General Practice	%
Medical offices	1,828	621	34.0
Physician manpower units, average	1,760.8	597.9	33.9
First consultations	3,093,067	882,655	28.5
Consultations	12,483,808	4,420,221	35.4
House calls	375,255	287,860	76.7

here with a close cooperation with the authorities in the form of the local committees, tenants' organizations, social and residential commissions of the locality or the people's solidarity, the red cross, etc.

In Berlin this cooperation developed particularly favorably, there where it does not remain left to the individual but where organizational forms were found that compelled the continuation of the cooperation. That is acknowledged through the establishment of medical centers. In this case the responsibility for a certain territory is assigned to a physician. Thereby this physician is on the one hand a constant partner in dialogue and point of first contact for citizens with suspicious medical and social problems and can on the other hand exert an effect on questions of health education, prophylaxis, hygiene, etc. in "his" locality. For the communal political work of the health and social system this type of coordination has proven itself well in which case primarily the specialty of the duly qualified physician is important. In medical centers, in which a general practitioner is functioning over a long period, firm family physician bonds are also most often forged very rapidly since his broadly faceted professional spectrum predestines him precisely for this position.

In the Berlin district of Mitte medical centers operated by general practitioners have been already functioning for a period of 20 years. This arrangement was introduced in 1965. A general practitioner is assigned one or more neighborhoods. The out-patient clinic on Johannisstrasse functioned exclusively as the introductory installation at that time. An ambulatory clinic (Schillingstrasse) and a series of a number of state medical offices (1983 = 11) also belonged to this initial clinic. In 1974 in the municipal district the newly constructed out-patient clinic on Leipziger Strasse was also incorporated into this system as a source of care with its staff of general practitioners. At present the municipal district of Mitte with about 82,000 inhabitants is subdivided into 49 neighborhoods. The initial medical center, the out-patient clinic on Johannisstrasse is responsible for 46 with 29 physicians and the out-patient clinic on Leipziger Strasse for three with three physicians. These physicians have fixed assignments. Along with the previously mentioned cooperation with the social authorities they have the responsibility above all for dispensing care for specific populations or diagnosed groups such as, for example, the elderly, large families, victims of the Nazi regime, or juvenile hypertensives, diabetics, hepatitis sufferers, etc.

For example, in 1983, of 7,454 citizens over the age of 70 in the district, 4,998 or 67 percent were cared for in the medical center at the out-patient clinic on Johannisstrasse. The citizens, who are not already being treated by "their" physicians, are taken up in a dispensary group. The names are forwarded by the Municipal Health and Social Office, which amends the electronic data processed list annually. Citizens over 70 not under constant control are visited at least once annually by a community nurse, or they receive an invitation to the physician's office. The need and desire for care are thereby actively filled. In most cases with the classification requiring constant treatment the frequency of the visits rises as a result. It was found to be very positive to integrate the district nurses (community nurses)

early into this system of medical centers. Today the 15 nurses are distributed in such a manner (corresponding to the proportion of elderly citizens at that time in the neighborhood) that they belong to one or a number of neighboring medical centers. They have their permanent place in the practice of the family physicians. They cooperate closely with the district geriatric advisory board. There is no central location for the district nurses; they are, however, subordinate to a district head nurse.

All the duties actively taken up by the physician in most cases effect the development of close physician-patient relationships. The permanent stationing of a physician over many years leads then favorably to the physicians growing into their role of family physician. The analysis in a medical center based upon the same physician being stationed there for over 10 years found that the relationships can be compared to those in the care district of a small town. Of 104 patients questioned 86 percent claimed a tight bond with their physician that has lasted longer than 2 years. Also, 35 percent of their spouses were treated by the same family physician and of the children over 12 years of age 53 percent were treated by the physician in the medical center. His family physician was called to the home 55 percent of the time rather than the DHD of the Emergency Medical Assistance/Rescue Office in Berlin.

Accordingly, a correct application of the medical center concept even in large city industrial parks contributes to the reinforcement of the family physician principle. The fundamental requirement is and remains naturally the permanent stationing of a physician over a period of years, which unfortunately cannot yet be carried out in all large cities.

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HUNGARY

# NEW FORMULATION OF MARXIST THEORIES NEEDED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 10, 1984 pp 69-77

[Transcript of a 1984 television interview with Academician Ferenc Tokei, member of the MTA (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), university professor, and head of the MTA Oriental Studies Working Group; by Istvan Kardos]

[Question] You have appeared frequently on television, and TV viewers know you well. But you have always been expressing your views on professional questions and have said very little about yourself. Yet you certainly have lived through several important turning points and historical changes, and these must have affected your personal life as well. Could you tell us about your life as a university student? What were those years at the university like?

[Answer] What were my university years like? Well, they were in the so-called fifties. Those few years which we now call the fifties--actually the period from 1949 to, say, 1953--are at present the subject of very many debates and reminiscences. To us that period is not something foreign, incomprehensible and exotic, as it is to today's youth. That was the time when my generation was developing into reasoning adults. Very many of us became Marxists. Naturally, this had its antecedents, for most of us had come into contact with Marxism already in secondary school. But nobody has yet become a Marxist from attending a single meeting or from a single reading of a few classical works. One must mature to become a Marxist. And to this end it is first of all necessary that the social environment change, and within it society itself and the individual, in such a way that he identifies with Marxism and develops a real interest in it.

Marxism has been my generation's first great, real intellectual experience. Not just some abstract, reading-room experience, such as a philosophy or particular system we had not heard about before. But an intellectual experience linked the most intimately with our lives, with the changes we witnessed after the liberation. And not a discredited ideology or theory, like practically all the others. But one that pointed into the future and gave a person guidance for the then timely and often fairly difficult decisions.

I do not believe that interest in Marxist theory became an equally profound and lifelong experience for everyone, every member of my generation. To the contrary, it is certain that Marxism then left many of us cold. It was a required subject in which one had to pass an exam. After the exam, many regarded

Marxism done and over with. But a good many other members of my generation and I developed also a serious theoretical interest in Marxism, in close conjunction with our interest and training in our majors.

[Question] Allow me to interrupt you. To my knowledge, you first studied literary history, history, and sinology, specifically the Chinese language. How did these interests come together?

[Answer] I received my basic training in oriental studies. And that happens to be my field of interest. It is also a personal one, because a wide variety of influences have steered me toward Chinese culture from an early age on. At the same time, my interest in Chinese culture has been associated with a great historical event. The civil war in China and the subsequent establishment of the People's Republic of China were events from life, and not merely from our parochial life but from world history. They had an immense interest-generating effect. Already from 1948 on, while still in secondary school, I attended evening classes to learn Chinese, at the then Central and East Asian Institute of Lorand Eotvos University. Thus, by the time I applied for admission to the university, at the entrance examination I was already able to offer some proof of my knowledge of the language. It was nothing spectacular. I appeared for the entrance examination with a stack of Chinese newspapers under my arm and translated the civil war's daily bulletins for my examiners. A mere trifle. For what did a bulletin of this kind contain, besides the number of prisoners captured, and so on? But it was undeniably effective, and I was admitted to the university, in spite of the fact that I had still to take a supplementary final examination in secondary school, because I had flunked physics.

In short, many ties attracted me to Chinese culture at a very early age. At that time the university was offering training in oriental studies within the framework of so-called museology. This was a very big branch of study. In addition to the students majoring in oriental studies, it trained also art historians, archeologists and ethnographers. I was trained from the very beginning in a multidisciplinary and comprehensive environment that, I believe, has left its imprint ever since on my works, and those of my classmates and members of my generation as well. At the same time, Marxism gave us the great methodology and theory capable of decisively influencing and unifying the many majors, the several scientific disciplines, and actually the social sciences in their entirety; it gave us a philosophically substantiated multidisciplinary theory that was intimately connected with ideological problems and my generation's political problems as well.

At that time, of course, none of us could imagine that it would ever be possible to study Marxism constructively, for not even party leaders had the right to interpret Marxism. One person alone had that right then--Stalin. And only his more or less loyal disciples could be party leaders. The instruction of Marxism as a required subject crammed it one-sidedly into the people and might have discouraged some of them from any serious interest in Marxism. (Unfortunately, many members of my generation still believe that Marxism is what they studied then, and not because they themselves were interested in it, but merely because it was an officially required subject.) Viewed in broader perspectives and on a mass scale, nonetheless, I believe that the instruction of Marxism at that time did give us something immensely important: it steered the thinking



of countless young men in a new direction. Tensions did arise, of course. Between the official ideology and the official interpretation of Marxism, on the one hand, and life, on the other. But we students did not perceive much of these tensions.

[Question] Were there no internal debates?

[Answer] There were indeed countless debates. In a certain sense, we might say, that was the period of debates. Then a debate still could stir up the people considerably. Today it is common knowledge that the great debates of that time were not real debates, because opinions to the contrary could not be expressed in them. But we students were preoccupied with these debates from morning till night. Our entire life as students consisted of debates. And it cannot be said that these debates had a stupifying, dimming effect on us, like some of the subsequent debates did that were on marginal questions or pseudo-problems. The debates at that time were on fundamental questions. On such fundamental questions of ideological importance as the meaning of socialism, the immediate and foreseeable future of Hungary and the socialist bloc, etc. The subjects of these debates, in other words, were of immense importance. In my opinion, these were stirring debates that did not necessarily lead to everyone's acceptance of the expected official views. The debates were stirring also in the sense that one began to become interested also in things less official. In my case, my early interest was aroused in original Marxism, in the original, classical works of Marx and Engels. In 1953--perhaps by the end of this period but not entirely beyond its end--the famous "Grundrisse" [Outlines], which is a so-called rough draft of "Das Kapital," was reissued in German, in Berlin. The inspiration I drew from it gave me the courage to write a series of sinological essays. On the basis of what I had learned in the fifties, and indeed of the research I had begun in that period, I completed my science candidate's dissertation in January 1956. A few years ago, it was found suitable for publication also in China, in Chinese.

[Question] What was the title of your dissertation?

[Answer] It was on landed property relations in the Chou period. This sounds like an abstract subject, but it is not the least bit abstract. The most controversy between Marxism and non-Marxism is always over the range of problems concerning property relations. Indeed, the interpretation of this concept is to this day the subject of debate and misunderstandings within Marxism itself. Moreover, official instruction of that time wanted to cram into us a historical materialism that was unsuitable for an understanding of non-European societies or, as I have found out since, even for a deeper understanding of European societies. The fact that I was able to do a few such things here in Budapest, without spending years in China on scholarships, ties in with my efforts to find a new research method, which I did find in original Marxian theory. I have in mind the concept of the Asiatic mode of production. Its consistent and thorough study, of course, represents a method and theory.

[Question] In the debates on the Asiatic mode of production, I believe, it turned out that this mode of production does not apply to China alone. Perhaps this is why the tone of the debates became so sharp.

[Answer] Of course. To illustrate how risky it was to write about this subject, it will perhaps suffice to mention that a debate held in the Soviet Union in 1931 condemned as anti-Marxist the then circulating interpretations of the Asiatic mode of production. These included also the works of Lajos Magyar, a Hungarian living in the Soviet Union who had spent years in China and had gained his empirical knowledge there. In short, under these conditions it obviously was not possible to challenge from one day to the next official opinion of this level. But neither do I claim "to have seen the light" overnight, in the sense that Djilas once used this expression in connection with his own "enlightenment." In the painstakingly slow process of historical research, philological work and text interpretation, I realized very gradually that I had to go back to Marx--not to the textbooks, but to Marx; that without the concept of the Asiatic mode of production and its range of problems and, as it dawned on me later, without critically transcending the dogmatic interpretation of historical materialism, it was not possible to complete any oriental studies which would rise even slightly above mediocrity.

[Question] Parallel with your "Az azsiai termelesi mod kerdesehez" [A Contribution to the Question of the Asiatic Mode of Production] and with your literary historical and aesthetic works, you wrote also a book [a collection of essays] with the following titles: "A Contribution to the Theory of Social Formations," "Antiquity and Feudalism," and "A Contribution to the Dialectics of Socialism." May I ask you what these "contributions" in the titles mean? Are they intended to exclude any claim to completeness?

[Answer] With these more restrictive titles I wish to imply nothing other than that my essays are merely contributions to the concept and specific forms of the mode of production, for an understanding of historical motion, of historical reality that is undergoing constant motion, change and variation, down to the formations or specific variations. An all-inclusive theory of history is not possible. I intended these essays as contributions; toward substantiating a broad view of the whole, of course. Since then I have maintained the belief that, whenever we are bogged down in the difficulties of a partial problem, we have only to view the problem in its greater, broader interrelations and then we can find a way to solve it.

In conjunction with my work in literary history and aesthetics, I would like to note that this is the sphere of interest and field of research in which I have been influenced the most by the aesthetics and criticism of Gyorgy Lukacs. I think that Lukacs--whether or not we cling to this or that theory or judgment of his now, or accepted it without reservation then--is a Marxist who always started out from basics when developing his ideas. From classical Marxism, for example, when reconstructing Marxist aesthetics. During his years in the Soviet Union, he and Mikhail Lifshits went back to the statements of Marx and Engels on aesthetics, and even further, to the traditions of classical philosophy, pre-Marxian classical philosophy, to lay the foundation of Marxist thinking, of Marxist research in the social sciences. And Lukacs always directs our attention to the broader interrelations, to the interrelations of world history. In short, I am able to attest to the fact that in the fifties--which today arouse so much passion and have left behind memories that are not unambiguous by any means--a generation started off in the right direction; the education and training of that time, and the character of the period did not prevent

anyone from looking beyond the period, from transcending the required material and reaching classical Marxism. In my opinion, it is bad enough that later, perceptibly in the seventies, the spirit of debating the most important issues and the strong commitment subsided and diminished that had characterized the youth of the fifties and sixties (in this respect the two periods did not differ much). Those who allowed their thinking to be narrowed, and who perhaps even headed the efforts to narrow the thinking of others, suddenly "saw the light" and began to find their way in a different direction, turning away from Marxism. They turned away even from multidisciplinary inquiry and immersed themselves completely in their own scientific disciplines.

In other words, I think we have what to recall nostalgically from the earlier decades. Of course, not as some sort of passive reminiscence that serves no useful purpose. And especially not as longing for a return of the old. But as a lesson that could be continued, and for which there is a need if we wish to extricate ourselves from our present problems. The period, I believe, is over that could content itself with researching smaller sections, with developing the special disciplines, while deemphasizing philosophical thinking. Every child will know before long that, without thinking in broader perspectives, we will not be able to even understand why we have come to the situation, not an easy one by any means, in which we now find ourselves.

[Question] I had the privilege of interviewing you on television also in the mid-1970's. In that interview you expounded similar ideas.

[Answer] I think I have been fairly consistent in advocating the standpoint that theoretical thinking must be renewed. Particular scientific disciplines may have evolved by ridding themselves of philosophy, i.e., of a dogmatic, disastrous, awkward, cumbersome and one-sided philosophy. But if this means that all attempts to gain a broader view and all theoretical inquiry have been exhausted in the methodologies of the scientific disciplines, then these disciplines, I believe, have not truly evolved after all. And the much talked-of interdisciplinarity or multidisciplinary has not been really achieved, nor can it be, except perhaps in one or two meticulous, partial researches of no particular significance, without any influence on ideology, world concept and world outlook.

[Question] And now, in 1984, do you view the situation more optimistically or less so?

[Answer] I am far more optimistic. As I began telling you, a period has ended when a person could completely immerse himself in local problems. It is not even possible to completely immerse oneself in particular scientific disciplines, because their evolution, too, ends at a certain point and it turns out that no further progress can be made without other sciences. And when the scientific disciplines attempt to work together, it again turns out that it is not possible to advance beyond a certain point, without philosophical thinking that is new, brand new, does not always start out from scientific disciplines, but is based on philosophical principles and ties in with philosophical traditions. I believe that by now life--the world recession, clearly evident by the mid-1970's, and its effect on the socialist countries and their innermost problems--has made it simply indisputable that there can be no further progress

without theory. Without it, we can only temporize and postpone the solution of our problems, and at best repeat--perhaps at a somewhat higher level--what we have been doing before; but we are unable to really switch to a new track.

[Question] At the beginning of our interview you mentioned the difficulties of independent ideological work in the early 1950's. But to what can we attribute the fact that ideological work became more difficult in the late 1960's?

[Answer] This is another question which, I believe, cannot be answered by starting out with dividing into periods the recent decades in Hungary's history. Everything that happened also in Hungary did so as a part of world historical motions, transformations, and world-scale structures. It cannot be considered independently of such extremely important events as the 20th CPSU Congress, the subsequent developments, wrangling, fighting, contradictions and various problems, including of course Hungary's tragedy in 1956.

Not even Hungary's economic reform, prepared in the 1960's and introduced in the late 1960's, can be viewed by itself. In my opinion, the Hungarian economic reform ground to a halt in the 1970's not because uncomprehending people prevented its continuation and perfection, but because a basic condition of its further development was lacking, especially amidst the capitalist world economy's recession: the other socialist countries' independent but converging development did not lead to the international coordination and even integration of the economic reform efforts.

[Question] It is necessary to transcend also the economy's limits.

[Answer] Naturally. The original concept stated, among other things, that a comprehensive reform was necessary; that the economy had to create its own system of institutions; and that the political system, too, had to be developed further, so that the social and state structures could be made more communal. I wish to note that actually the Hungarian economic reform has not been a reform in a narrowly economic sense, for the following reasons: it was based on an economic-policy decision; economic-policy decisions corrected it along the way; and now again economic-policy decisions--i.e., factors "extrinsic to the economy"--will determine how, in what direction, we will develop the economic reform further.

Most importantly, however, in the 20th century the history of a country cannot be discussed isolated from the rest of the world. Otherwise historiography becomes local historiography or the history and geography of one's own country, loses its scientific nature and does not explain the basic problems. Regardless of how much sociology has advanced in the 1970's or, say, the research of East Europe within historiography, I believe that neither is able to explain the Hungarian economic reform's difficulties if it does not look out onto the world. It may perhaps sound strange to use the word fortunate, but if we think in terms of a longer horizon, we must regard as fortunate that the capitalist world economy's recession has not left us untouched. It reminds us that we want to surpass a world system, and a world system cannot be surpassed locally.

[Question] One gains the impression that between the thinking of the philosopher on the one hand, and that of the sociologist or economist on the other,

there exists a difference which tends to make the one more pragmatic and the other a bit more utopistic.

[Answer] Well, that may be so. But you must not forget that when the philosopher looks at the course of world history, when he attempts to approach and answer on the scale of world history the question of what socialism is, then he indeed does not speak directly or in an immediately understandable manner of a world that is intimately tangible on the basis of everyday experience; and yet he is the one farther removed from utopia and utopianism. In all my writings, in the 1960's and the 1970's as well, I have always supported the standpoint that, in the sense of world history, our socialism cannot yet be truly developed, evolved, and developing on its own base. At best it is still developing on local bases and may develop on the base of the capitalist world economy. In my opinion, the conclusions to be drawn from this permit far more realistic objectives than the notion which starts out from everyday practice--say, from the immediate, everyday practice of national economic planning and macroeconomic management--and often holds that there will be enormous progress and we will achieve communism, if not in this decade then in the next. Today the theoretical thinking that is Marx-oriented, or is returning to Marx, does not attempt at all to perceive socialism or communism as some sort of system of institutions or structure of a given country or even of the world.

We must return to the fundamental Marxian idea that communism is the movement or motion that will abolish capitalism and will ensure forms and structures more worthy of mankind and man; but the specific forms and details of these structures cannot and must not be planned in advance, because they can evolve only in the course of lengthy practice. Consider the socialism that Marx and Engels were able to envisage. Their mental picture of socialism was, and could not have been anything other than, merely a simple extension of the conditions that existed the previous century. Regardless of how ingenious thinkers they were, not even they could do anything other than to project into the future the trends of their own period. Therefore we do not have to adhere in all its details even to the mental picture that they formed for themselves of the future, because much time has elapsed since then and we are now nearing the end of another century. Naturally, they still entertained scores of notions that have been superseded, for the world has changed much since then. But is this sufficient justification not to read Marx, and not to try to understand--even if we take seriously his statements on socialism that sometimes inadvertently are more specific, and therefore sound utopistic; in other words, when we search for the theoretical content of these statements--how he projected the trends of his period into the distant future? What we must really return to, I believe, is Marx's theory of history, his long-range method from which Marx intentionally excluded any picture of socialism or communism, because all his life he regarded such things as vulgarism and utopianism. And he was entirely right.

And if we want the social sciences to draw a new picture of socialism, then I believe we are asking for more vulgarism. This is entirely unnecessary. Even science-fiction literature is not able to do anything more than to transpose the forms and structures of today's capitalist world into the future. Therefore such a futurological picture of socialism cannot be anything more than a

utopistic and vulgar element in a long-range theory of world historical importance and scale. In my opinion, this is something we have no need for at all. Of course, even a short-range objective must be able to provide guidance for practice. But such an objective is able to move only on the basis of a long-range concept; and we must never convert it into a picture of the future to wave before our youth, because a year or two later, in less than a decade, the picture will become obsolete. Consider that socialist realism, the official artistic method of the 1950's, did produce a picture of socialism, in the strictest sense. Some of the films and paintings, for example, did indeed convert the envisaged future into a picture. Today the picture that these films and painting preserve is extremely vulgar and borders on the ridiculous.

At present, I believe, the social sciences' need for long-range thinking is just as great as their long-standing need to extricate themselves also from their own problems, so that, by forming public opinion, they may offer the country something significant, for thinking about the future, and even for government, for the responsible work of running the country. Unless the social sciences develop in this manner, we will be living from day to day, and spontaneous motions--in other words, motions over which we have no control, events acting with the force of natural disasters--will determine our actions. Such as, for example, the world economy's recession that has proven persistent since the mid-1970's and will remain so for some time; a recession whose outcome, too, is uncertain; one for which we were unprepared, and to which we are only able to adjust. We are fortunate in that we perhaps have been better able to adjust than others, so far. But if we view the situation on a larger scale, from the required scientific and philosophical, theoretical distance, then we do not differ much from the other socialist countries after all. They are in the same boat as we are. Somehow we have to find a way to begin to understand one another better.

It may appear strange that I am constantly citing the old slogan, coined by Gyorgy Lukacs, of back to Marx, and ahead to today's problems with his help, with the help of Marxian theory. Perhaps this "back" does sound a bit peculiar, although it does not convey anything special. It merely means back to thinking, to the classics of science and thought; against the vulgarisms associated with big performances and everyday problems; to be able to cast off the shackles of these vulgarisms, so as to see more clearly the terrain along which we are moving, and make possible the exploration of the great, world-scale forces that influence and limit our actions; and unless we take the broader relationship into account from the very outset, these forces might cause even our best-intentioned efforts to fail.

But we must return to classical Marxism for a very practical consideration as well. On the basis of our socialism that is being built in national economies and national states, there have arisen--regrettably--some sort of local, national-state Marxisms. The different interpretation of Marxism in each country began in the 1950's, and since then it has become disturbingly serious. Basics are being taught differently, and entire generations are growing up in different frames of reference. What could be their common language? Only by reaching back to classical Marxism is it possible to achieve that we and our partners--the partner countries that are in the same boat as we, and with whom only our joint action can be successful in the capitalist world economy--will

be able to understand one another; so that not diplomacy will be our principal means of contact, and efforts at real cooperation and integration will become our common objective. Our potential is enormous. And yet we are living side by side in an extremely anachronistic manner, building socialism in one country--i.e., each country its own, side by side, without sufficient integration. Moreover, even though life now is forcing us drastically to find one another, the conditions of integration do not seem to be improving.

[Question] The problems associated with integration, I believe, run very deep. And they are not only economic ones in their nature.

[Answer] Naturally. And it is very difficult to make any headway in integration already because the purely economic considerations do not unambiguously compel us to do so. From an economic viewpoint it is even imaginable --and, regrettably, we seem to be drifting on such a course--that each socialist country will attempt to work the world market separately, and to somehow adjust its domestic efforts accordingly.

[Question] And this produces a certain nationalistic attitude.

[Answer] Yes, I think so. Historically nationalism is class-rooted. And if we stop to consider what preserves nationalism nonetheless even in socialist states, the basic cause cannot be sought elsewhere than in the fact that the construction of socialism has been extremely narrowed down, has assumed too much the imprint of our own households, is limited excessively to individual countries, and is trying too hard to realize models or pictures tailored to individual countries. It is very difficult to make any headway. I said that even the interpretation of Marxism is beginning to differ considerably by socialist countries. Is this good or bad? If we are in real motion, the advantages of this development may manifest themselves. But if we come to a standstill or switch to rotary motion, then--regrettably--I must say that this is very bad. Because even the basic concepts themselves acquire different interpretations. The internationalism of socialism, for example. Naturally, by this I mean not a slogan, but the elementary theoretical relationship that it takes a world system to surpass another world system. So long as individual countries are attempting to surpass a world system, side by side and without adequate integration, their efforts will involve also some degree of dependence; furthermore, this negation of capitalism will be merely an initial one, with relapses possible; and there is no question as yet of socialism developing on its own base, its own world-scale base. I believe we must seek the main source of our present problems in our being bogged down in these national-state frameworks. And it is indeed difficult to make headway.

How could we make headway, for example, toward a more uniform comprehension of Marxism? This is elementary: by teaching classical Marxism everywhere, and teaching it better and more extensively than it is being taught at present. However, even classical Marxism needs some sort of interpretation, some sort of updating and explanation drawn from everyday politics and society's everyday problems. It does not speak by itself; it has to be made to speak.

Then how can we make the instruction of Marxism more uniform in our countries? God forbid that we make the textbooks of one country the official textbooks for

all the socialist countries. We have already gone through this once and have successfully abandoned it. In short, we will not advance integration by equalizing or sacrificing our national values, by sacrificing industrial cultures or risking other cultural assets. Real integration is possible only by preserving local, national values and on the basis of independent realization. Therefore theoretical work today is of international significance. Not only for us, but for the Western communists as well. Furthermore, it is a vital necessity for entire progressive mankind to see the world as a whole, to gain an overview somehow of world history's world-scale movement. Which requires a large-scale theory, a philosophical theory. And this is not utopia because it is "farther." One can see better from afar; it becomes more evident why a local development is the kind it is. If this long-range view fails to become the dominant in the near future, then we will merely retrace the previous curves, and it is unlikely that we will make any significant headway.

Our motion or development may change also to lasting stagnation. World history has known many such stagnations. For example, the Asiatic mode of production constituted stagnation on the base of primitive society. Even within essentially stagnating motion, of course, some degree of development is possible. But without teaching our youth to observe matters from the viewpoint of world history, we can hardly imagine something new, something basically new that we need today to regain our ability to decisively influence world events; to hope that socialism will not only survive but also unfold; that it will reveal its true values, become communal, and overcome the bureaucracy and nationalism that are concomitants of the national states; and that our peoples will find one another and match their different potentials. In the last decade of his life, Gyula Illyes felt that his generation were ending their careers without witnessing, regrettably, the realization of the greatest hope of their lifetime: that the peoples of the Danube basin would find one another. I suspect that even my generation will be departing without seeing this hope realized for the time being.

What we are talking about is not utopia, but much more. Every Marxist knows that in this area, and not only here, we are dealing with historical necessity. And that we will have to pay dearly if we do not aid the realization of historical necessity, but wait until some catastrophe forces it on us spontaneously. The future generation cannot set for itself a task greater and more meaningful, one that better encompasses all our problems ranging from the ethical to the political, than to aid the realization of this necessity and promote its optimal unfolding. Mankind's future depends on this.

1014  
CSO: 2500/17



POLAND

INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY ORDINANCE ON ELECTION RULES

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 30, 6 Jul 85 pp 341-344

[Text] Item #131, Ordinance of the Minister of Internal Affairs of 24 Jun 1985, concerning making and updating of voting lists for the elections to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, and issuing certificates of the right to vote.

On the basis of Article 27 section 1 of the Law of 29 May 1985--Law on Elections to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic (Dziennik Ustaw No. 36, item #112) it is ordered:

Chapter 1: Compiling voting lists.

§ 1. Local organs of state administration on the primary level which have jurisdiction over registration of persons make up voter lists and update them according to the regulations contained in this ordinance.

§ 2. 1. 3 copies of voting lists are compiled for each individual election district.

2. Voting lists are made on forms according to the example described in Appendix 1 to this ordinance. The form is to be filled on both sides.

§ 3. 1. Voting lists are compiled on the basis of register of permanent residents and on the basis of list of temporary residents.

2. Voting lists include Polish citizens who, on the day of elections, are over 18 years old, and;

1) are registered for permanent residence in a given commune, town, or borough;

2) are registered for temporary residence in a given commune, town, or borough, if their stay includes the election day; a notification about placement on a voting list of persons registered for temporary residence is sent to the local organ of state administration on the primary level, which has jurisdiction on the basis of the place of permanent residence of such persons; the model of notification is described in Appendix 2 to this ordinance.

§ 4. 1. Following persons are not to be placed on, or should be deleted from existing voter lists:

1) those who, by a court order, have been declared legally incapacitated, in full or in part, due to mental illness;

2) those who have been stripped of their public rights by a valid court decision;

3) those who have been deprived of their electoral rights by a valid decision of the Tribunal of State;

2. Following persons who do not participate in the voting are also not included, or should be deleted from existing voting lists:

1) those who are serving a prison sentence;

2) those who have been placed in resocialization centers;

3) those who are under temporary arrest.

3. Notices from courts or penal institutions, sent in the manner described in other regulations, form the basis for the exclusion or deletion from voting lists of persons mentioned in section 1 and 2.

§ 5. Following persons are not to be placed on, or should be deleted from existing voting lists:

1) persons registered for permanent residence, or temporary residence extending through election day, in closed area of military bases;

2) persons registered for permanent residence, or temporary residence extending through election day, in military residences, if such persons have been included on voting lists compiled for election districts established for the military;

3) persons who travel for temporary stay abroad longer than 2 months, if such stay extends through election day;

4) persons who, on election day, are sailing on Polish seafaring vessels.

§ 6. 1. Voting lists in cities are compiled in street name order, arranged alphabetically, within streets in house number order, and within houses in apartment number order.

2. Voting lists in communes are compiled in hamlet name order, arranged alphabetically, and within hamlets in house number order; if the hamlet has streets, also according to street name in alphabetical order and then in house number order.

§ 7. In election districts established in units providing accommodations in connection with serving basic military service in civil defense, in a state enterprise that does not fall under the Minister of National Defense, or in connection with medical treatment or social welfare, the local organs of state administration on the primary level, which have jurisdiction over registration of persons, will compile voting lists on the basis of lists provided by the heads of such units.

§ 8. 1. Voting lists must be typed or printed, depending on local circumstances.

2. If a voting list is printed, the layout of the form may be different from the example, provided that all sections shown in the example are included.

§ 9. Each copy of the voting list must be signed by the local organ of state administration on the primary level which has jurisdiction over registration of persons. The list must also have an official seal.

§ 10. 1. Voting lists must be compiled at the latest on the 31st day before the election.

2. Local organs of state administration on the primary level which have jurisdiction over registration of persons, send one copy of the voting list to the chairmen of district electoral commissions; the second and third copies are to be held by the local organ of state administration.

#### Chapter 2: Issuing certificates of the right to vote.

§ 11. If, after the voting list has been compiled, the voter changes his residence, he will receive on demand a certificate of the right to vote. When the local organ of state administration on the primary level issues such certificate, it deletes the voter from the list with the notation "certificate." The form of the certificate is described in Appendix 3 to this ordinance.

§ 12. 1. A certificate of the right to vote is issued from the date of compiling the voting list until one day before election.

2. Refusal to issue a certificate is given in the form of decision.

#### Chapter 3: Updating the voting lists.

§ 13. The organ which compiled the voting list updates it in the form of a supplementary voting list, or in the form of deletion from the voting list.

§ 14. 1. Supplementary voting lists include persons who:

1) registered for permanent residence from the date of compilation of the voting list until one day before election;

2) registered for temporary residence which includes election day in the time between the compilation of a voting list and one day before election; a notification about placement of such persons on a supplementary voting list must be sent to the local organ of state administration on the primary level which has jurisdiction over the place of their permanent residence;

3) reported returning from a temporary stay abroad;

4) present a certificate of release from places listed in § 4 section 2 for a period extending through election day;

5) received a court decision or verdict permitting placement on a voting list as a result of complaint about omission from the list.

2. Supplementary voting lists also include persons released from active military service, basic military service in civil defense, or armed units which are not a part of armed forces, during the time from the compilation of such list until one day before election, even if they do not possess a certificate of the right to vote. Information about such persons should be derived from their identity document and military identity document, or through confirmation by the appropriate military commander for reserves.

3. Supplementary voting lists are made in 3 copies, one of which local organs of state administration which have jurisdiction over registration of persons, send to the chairmen of district electoral commissions one day before election; the second and third copy are kept by the local organ of state administration.

§ 15. 1. The following persons should be deleted from voting lists:

1) deceased, or who registered out of the place of permanent residence, or temporary residence before the end of period declared at registration, or who declared departure for a temporary stay abroad if such stay extends through election day;

2) about whom the courts have sent a notice of being deprived of public rights on the basis of a valid court decision, or about declaration of full or partial legal incompetence, or about being deprived of voting rights on the basis of a valid decision of the Tribunal of State;

3) about whom penal institutions sent a notice of serving a prison sentence, or being placed in a resocialization center, or under temporary arrest;

4) who received a certificate of the right to vote;

5) about whom a notification was received that they were placed on a voting list in another election district;

6) who were issued a decision about deletion from the voting list as a result of a complaint.

2. When deleting a voter from the voting list for cause described in section 1 point 1-3 and 5-6, a notation appropriate to the circumstances should be made: "deceased," "registered out," "went abroad," "notification," "complaint."

3. Deletions are also made on the second and third copies of the voting list mentioned in § 10 section 2; the second copy is sent to the chairmen of district electoral commissions one day before election.

#### Chapter 4: Compiling voting lists for alternate or by-elections.

§ 16. 1. In case of an alternate election being ordered, the local organs of state administration on the primary level which have jurisdiction over registration of persons send to the chairmen of district electoral commissions the third copy of the voting list mentioned in § 10 section 2, and the second copy of a supplementary voting list mentioned in § 14 section 3.

2. Voting lists are sent to the chairmen of district electoral commissions at a time set in the electoral calendar for alternate elections.

3. The rule in § 15 section 1 point 2 and 3 are applied appropriately.

§ 17. 1. In case of a by-election being ordered, the local organs of state administration on the primary level which have jurisdiction over registration of persons compile new voting lists according to this ordinance.

2. Voting lists are sent to the chairmen of district electoral commissions at a time set in the electoral calendar for by-elections.

3. The rules in §§ 11-15 apply to updating of voting lists and issuance of certificates of the right to vote.

#### Chapter 5: Final Regulations.

§ 18. The manner of compiling and updating voting lists in electoral districts established on military bases and on Polish seafaring vessels which on election day are at sea, as well as for electoral districts established abroad, is regulated separately.

§ 19. This ordinance comes in effect on the day of promulgation.

Minister of Internal Affairs  
C. Kiszczak

Appendices to the ordinance of the Minister of Internal Affairs of 24 Jun 1985 (item #131).

Appendix 1.

Head Seal of the city, borough,  
commune, town and commune

Electoral District # \_\_\_\_\_  
Electoral Region # \_\_\_\_\_

VOTING LIST

#	Last Name, First Name(s)	Father's Name	Date of Birth (year, month, day)	Permanent or Temporary Residence	Remarks
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Town House# Apt.  
Street

Appendix 2.

Date:  
To:  
Address:

This is to notify that citizen \_\_\_\_\_ (First Name, Last Name, Father's Name, Date of Birth) included in your registry of residents under address \_\_\_\_\_ (Place, Street, House #, Apt. #) has been placed on a voting list in \_\_\_\_\_ (Place), commune of \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ Voivodship.

Signature and Official Title

Appendix 3.

Head Seal of the city, borough,  
commune, town and commune

Date \_\_\_\_\_

CERTIFICATE OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE

On the basis of article 25 of Election Law to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic this certificate is being issued. It forms the basis for voting in the electoral district in the new residence of citizen \_\_\_\_\_ (Father's Name), born \_\_\_\_\_ (year, month, day) resident at \_\_\_\_\_ (exact address of permanent residence) in connection with change of place of residence.

Signature and Official Title

12503/12379  
CSO: 2600/1002

POLAND

# LACK OF LAWYERS FOR ELECTION EFFORT DECRIED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish 6 Jul 85 pp 1,6

[Article: "The Sejm Needs Lawyers"]

[Text] Elzbieta Kolman says: "We in Czestochowa have had bad experience from the people's councils elections, because only one of the four council candidates we listed remained. Now people are asking whom we are proposing to the convention, whom for the elections committee, and how many lawyers from the ZPP will be at the counselling centers, but up until now nobody has said a word about candidates to propose for Sejm delegate, not even about a single candidate from ZPP, the lawyers' organization. Does this forebode well?" she asks.

The Czestochowa lawyer's statement reflects the fears of just about the entire ZPP membership of 20,000. They are saying that so long as we are needed for hard work, people even drag us out of bed in the middle of the night, but when it comes to proposing candidates, there is silence. And all the time the Sejm does need lawyers.

The general meeting of the main board of the Union of Polish Lawyers, the ZPP, which was held 24 June, was devoted mainly to ZPP's role in the Sejm elections. Board chairman Dr Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki presided and also gave the opening remarks.

"We have already expressed our position concerning the elections at the February general meeting, so there is no need to go back to many issues. Today it is time for concrete statements concerning the union's role in the elections campaign, a genuine active role. As everyone knows, the ZPP gained through the law the right to put up candidates for deputy. The question arises as to how to take advantage of this right. There are two possibilities: First the ZPP main board proposes concrete persons to the various conventions in cooperation with the voivodship administrations. Second, the voivodship administrations can themselves put forth the people, with help and support by the main board, as needed."

"At the meeting of the main board," the chairman said, "we came to the conclusion that it would be better to follow the second tack, first because the membership is more familiar with local situations, the level of activity of various people in social activities, and, to put it bluntly, what their chances are."

Andrzej Elbanowski, vicechairman of the PRON National Council, spoke next, pointing out that some haste is necessary, because in many voivodships "certain moves have already been made." Of course lawyers who are ZPP members are already among the candidates already proposed. It is a question of the ZPP's supporting the candidacy of these people too, independent of its own efforts and moves. Work is also in progress on a national list.

Member Krystyna Krzekotowska talked about the need to expand the representation of lawyers in the Sejm. At the Ministry of Justice there was a meeting with Jerzy Jaskiernia, who is after all a lawyer too. The subject discussed was "The law vis-a-vis the opportunities for and barriers to national agreement." The conclusion was that one of the best ways to achieve understanding is to bolster the role of law and the importance of lawyers within the society. Krystyna Krzekotowska added that she had ZPP lawyers in mind when they talked about the need to bolster the number of lawyers in the Sejm.

Member Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki noted that Professor Adam Lopatka, then chairman of the ZPP main board, was the only ZPP member to be elected to the Sejm during the past term.

Jerzy Panasewicz spoke next: "Actually, there is no point repeating what was said in February. Let us therefore consider the question of placing names of our members as candidates for deputy before the conventions. What can we count on? How many could be accepted for what lists? I also have a concrete proposal to take a stand on the candidacy of our chairman. I will not point out his worth or effectiveness, because we are all familiar with these facts."

(Applause). The chairman expresses his thanks but thinks this is a matter for discussion during the course of work. Bringing it up today places the presidium of the main board in an awkward situation.

Member Zenon Mlynarczyk said: "I think that the applause speaks for itself, so let us treat it as the will of the meeting."

"Two variants have been mentioned, but after all you can also take the middle road. You cannot let things go completely on their own. There can be professional ambition, for example, questions of prestige. For example, if a judge, why not a prosecuting attorney, and vice versa. If we start asking for too many spots, it is going to look a little funny. Therefore I suggest that we appoint a union collegium to do consultations in the course of their regular work on candidacies at that moment being temporarily proposed just inside the ZPP and that they give them their blessing, assistance, and advice, but this would not mean formally putting forth -- or not putting forth -- the names of these people. The appropriate voivodship administration would ultimately make the decision."

The chairman of the main board said: "As I already mentioned, it is difficult for us to assess people's chances in the light of local conditions. For this reason at the presidium we came out for the latter course of action. It is clear that there can be an intermediate course. For example, we could get together with the voivodship administrations on the date of a general meeting and see who would be able and willing to go consult on the candidacies,



but in no way should this be construed to mean acceptance or rejection. It would simply be sitting down and putting our heads together.

Party Member Mieczyslaw Huchla said that inasmuch as the four hundred and some organizations have the right to place names in candidacy for delegate, it each one put forth a single name, this would correspond to the majority of Sejm seats. After all, there is an interpart distribution of mandates, so it would be difficult to imagine a substantial number of delegates from the ZPP. We should work instead on conventions, elections committees, rather than naming our own candidates. Here we should be modest. The speaker also mentioned his own earlier postulate stemming from experience related to people's council elections, that is, a need to recognize (for example in a thank you letter) those people whose names have been suggested but who did not make it through the selection process or who were in places where the ZPP does not have the the mandate and were not elected.

Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki spoke again: "It is not only desirable but essential that opinionmaking groups and representatives of various constituencies be represented in the Sejm. The Sejm expresses the will of the nation through bills and laws. It is difficult to talk about political action and legislative action apart from one another. In order to avoid looking at things from a purely political or legal-material side, the Sejm must have lawyers. It is worth putting them up for nonmandated spots too, because if need be the need to repeat an election can increase their chances."

Elzbieta Kolman, mentioned above, thinks that the main board and the voivodships should take the major initiative in putting candidates on the list (through conventions), rather than having the individuals do it themselves.

Sylwester Zawadzki, honorary ZPP member, said: "The role of lawyers in the election campaign is a special one. They should promote the work not just of nominations but also the whole Sejm and work on elections committees. Their role (in the campaign) must not be tied to preliminary conditions, to the number of candidates which the legal organization puts forth."

Prof Zawadzki went on: "In the Sejm lawyers do not just work directly on legislation. They do not just give political directives a legal tack but also shape political and legal solutions. Their role today is different from what it once was. The committees and subcommittees have many meetings where there are discussions in which our voice is not only useful but absolutely essential.

"As for selecting the variant, the most useful would be that which takes into account the fact that many organizations will simply be in competition with one another or can block one another. There will be greatest opportunity for those people who do not limit themselves to a single professional constituency. If we have a lawyer candidate and a candidate who is both a lawyer and, for example, the chairman of the TWP, or is a youth organization or ZBoWiD activist, then the latter will be in a far more advantageous situation, because he will have broader support."

The Sejm presently has 16 people working in various legal professions and occupations and a dozen and some law-school graduates. In March 1980, the long-range prospects were entirely different. Nobody thought about having 200 bills in a single term. Now I think that the Sejm should have about 25 representatives of legal professions and 45-50 names among the candidates."

Kazimierz Jasnikowski said: "Let us be realistic. We have six mandates. There are the PZPR, the ZSL, the SD, the unaffiliated. Where is there any room for lawyers? We could reach out to find a member of the ZPP to put on the list, and when we have a meeting, if we agree on the candidacies and then go to the political leaders, we hear: 'Well, but we only have six mandates for the whole district.'"

Marian Szabela said that it is already a bit late, taking into account the whole preliminary preparation process. He proposed that in preparing the resolution the committee emphasize the need to increase the number of lawyers in the Sejm very strongly. After all, this is the view of many voivodship deputy groups. In the next Sejm they (the lawyers) will by no means have less work. It is true that the number of laws passed and instant amendments will be reduced. There will be more discussion, therefore. Without denying the correctness of the efforts of the voivodship administrations, the speaker is calling for the presidium of the ZPP main board to be quick about deciding what the realities are and put forth proposals on the number of lawyer candidates, perhaps as well as certain specific names. If, as one of the members put it, we let everything just go on its own, we may not succeed in obtaining what can be obtained.

Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki, the chairman of the ZPP main board spoke once more:

"In the Sejm the lawyer becomes a somewhat different sort of lawyer. In coming into the legislative body I did not realize how much my thinking would change. The heart of the matter rests with the skill to link specific material to the legislative technique. The Sejm needs not only lawyers with a very narrow specialty, who after all can always be invited as experts, but even more people with broader horizons, people who can think in the categories of the good of the country. The elections platform will flow out of the PRON declaration, but in presenting these problems to the electorate, we can include many of our own comments.

"Now, the problem of candidates, or rather, candidates for candidate. As lawyers, professionals, they can be marvelous. And they should be. But this will surely be too little, if they do not have a broader base, in the form of links to parties and social organizations. Statistics condemn us to lose at the outset. We have to be realistic in looking at things, but now view things from the point of view of who must lose and how. So we have come to agreement with a number of organizations like NOT, PTE, TNOiK, and TWP to support one another in certain situations and frameworks. We can give up certain territories without a fight, or put forth a candidate under another rubric. Elsewhere we will try to get in a larger number of candidates."

"Where there is an opportunity to put up a candidate, we will build up the territory, maybe with added opinions, maybe in some other way. The communication should go both ways. Tell us that you have certain people, that you need this or that sort of support, or that you have a good candidate but are afraid that he may get cut down at the outset. We expect information about specific individuals, not about the limits on spots. Let us not underestimate the possibility of presenting our candidates at a wider forum, regardless of whether it is a priority seat or not."

The members in attendance unanimously accepted the resolution, presented below, on the ZPP's role in elections to the Sejm.

Resolution of the ZPP Main Administration Dated 24 June 1985 on the Role of the Union of Polish Lawyers in Elections to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic

1. The ZPP Main Administration, keeping in mind:

the political significance of the elections for shaping the highest representative body and for consolidating the society firmly around the basic underlying reasons for our socialist state,

the Sejm's level of importance in the regime as the highest body of official state power and spokesman for the nation's sovereign rights,

the significance of the Sejm's legislative function and the shaping of the system of laws in the state,

considers it the patriotic duty of its members and all Polish lawyers to take part in the upcoming elections campaign and in the elections to the Sejm.

2. The Main Administration recommends that all groups of the Union of Polish Lawyers:

take an active part in the elections campaign by popularizing throughout the society the election nominations to the Sejm and the election program,

extend professional legal assistance to groups of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) in the election campaign and in the work of the elections committees,

put forth the names of ZPP members for deputy seats.

3. The Union of Polish Lawyers recognizes the need to increase the number of lawyer delegates, in view of experience from the legislative work of the eighth term of the Sejm and the legislative tasks which face the ninth term.

The Main Administration is convinced that in keeping with the needs of the highest legislative body of the state, a suitable number of lawyers with both a high level of social commitment and deep legal knowledge and experience will

have their names placed in candidacy. This will insure that the ninth term of the Sejm will carry out its legislative functions.

4. The Main Administration, on the basis of past socioprofessional activity of its members, is convinced that their participation in the Sejm elections campaign will be a model of civic attitudes in major affairs of the state and the society.

Main Administration  
Union of Polish Lawyers

10790  
CSO: 2600/1012

POLAND

DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETINGS HELD

Meetings in Krakow, Tarnow

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Aug 85 p 2

[Text] The Provincial Defense Committee deliberated yesterday in Krakow at a session at the Institute of Geophysics.

The directors of selected transport equipment enterprises in Krakow Province participated in the session which was presided over by the city mayor, Tadeusz Salwa.

The committee evaluated the state of preparedness of these enterprises for the implementation of tasks connected with adapting and turning over transport equipment and engineering machinery for the country's defense needs.

Decisions were made aimed at improving the progress of preparations in this area.

Moreover, the WKO [Provincial Defense Committee] familiarized itself with the progress and outcome of the recruitment of candidates for professional military training during the 1984-1985 academic year.

The committee members also heard information about the state of public law, order and safety in Krakow and in Krakow Province.

The Provincial Defense Committee also evaluated the state of harvest work in Krakow Province and, in particular, recommended long-range assistance for single private farmers.

In Tarnow

The Provincial Defense Committee met yesterday (27 August) in Tarnow at its latest session.

During the first item of the deliberations led by the governor of Tarnow, Stanislaw Nowak, an evaluation was carried out of the results of the activity conducted to date in Tarnow Province, within the framework of operation "Posesja-85" and of the state of preparations for the second, September phase

of this campaign. During spring inspection, more than 43,000 public service buildings; private and cooperative properties and work establishments were inspected. Numerous cases of irregularities were disclosed including approximately 5,500 health, fire code and orderliness violations.

The cited negligences equaled 2,314 fines in the amount of nearly 1.5 million zlotys.

A total of 219 recommendations to the citizens' peer court /kolegium/ for violations were drawn up. Twenty-three preliminary legal proceedings were initiated. The conducted actions contributed to an improved appearance of cities and rural communities and in many cases, they prevented waste and inefficient management.

This campaign was met with a great response from the public. During its duration, the residents of the province called attention to the necessity of undertaking definite action for improvement in the area of environmental protection against pollution and against its [environment] deterioration caused by the unrestricted dumping of waste and impurities.

The Provincial Defense Committee also evaluated the economic-financial situation of commercial enterprises operating in the province and found a significant reduction in their profitability.

#### Nowy Sacz Meeting

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 2 Sep 85 p 4

[Text] During the first half of this year in Nowy Sacz Province, city and gmina offices in Grodek nad Dunajcem, Korzenna, Bukowina Tatrzańska, Krościenko and Dunajcem, Piwniczna and Bobowa were subjected to a thorough inspection. During this same time, 627 problem inspections, 126 verification inspections and 243 immediate inspections were also conducted. During the first 6 months of this year, the Provincial Regional Inspectorate conducted inspections of seven regional administrative units and checked the effects of the implementation of recommendations made by earlier inspections in six cities and gminas. A systematic improvement in the functioning of state administrative offices was found as well as better service rendered by these offices to the public and to national councils, and improved planning and work organization were also confirmed. The gmina of Bobowa came out the best in the complex inspections whereas Krościenko nad Dunajcem fared the worst. Severe official and legal consequences were dealt on those who were guilty of the various kinds of negligence. Among others, the director of Labowa gmina was dismissed, the director of Lapsze Nizne gmina was reprimanded by the WIT [Provincial Regional Inspectorate] in units not subordinate to national councils, confirmed an improvement in their functioning and better implementation of tasks by them. However, shortcomings were also disclosed. The following continue to occur: mismanagement, the lack of respect for and protection of property, and disorder. And in these instances, those who were guilty were also punished. For glaring shortcomings in the functioning of trade in Lubien gmina the manager of the local branch of the SCH Gmina Cooperative in Bukowina Tatrzańska

was dismissed from his post and the vice-chairman of the SCH Gmina Cooperative was reprimanded and conditionally allowed to remain at his post. On the other hand, Agricultural Circle Cooperatives in Roznow were praised for the implementation of recommendations made by a previous inspection.

These matters were the topic of deliberations of the Provincial Defense Committee in Nowy Sacz. During the meeting, which was conducted by the governor of the Nowy Sacz Province, Antoni Raczka, the Provincial Defense Committee members also familiarized themselves with the results of the inspection conducted in administrative offices and work establishments aimed at checking the implementation of studies in the area of civil defense. The Provincial Defense Committee also analyzed the results of recruitment to military schools and familiarized itself with proposals stemming from this year's recruitment to military service.

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CSO: 2600/12

POLAND

LEGAL PROTECTION FOR RELIGIOUS WORSHIP DEFENDED

Warsaw RZECZPSOPOLITA in Polish 16 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by: Grzegorz Rydlewski]

[Text] The use of religious feelings and beliefs held by Polish Catholics for political purposes has become a traditional method of operation of the foreign and internal enemies of the socialist institutional-political order. In light of the coming elections to the PRL Sejm, these activities have become subordinated to aspirations aimed at leading the greatest possible number of the Polish faithful to take oppositionist positions regarding their own state or at least to assume positions of indifference and a lack of activism in public life.

The continually growing sociopolitical activism of the faithful and their participation in the pre-election campaign is making the enemies of socialism in Poland nervous. A similar effect is being produced by the fact that the numbers of the faithful that do not hide their critical attitude to the mixing of religion and politics, to the use of the Roman Catholic Church and its gatherings for activities that violate the provisions of the constitution and to the use of the religious mission by some clergymen for political ends are increasing continually as well.

According to the advocates of unrest in Poland, among the "arguments" that are supposed to reverse these negative trends for the antisocialist forces in Poland, a central position is held by the claim that the legal standards established by the state prevent the faithful from disseminating legally and propagating their religious views and convictions and deprive Catholics from being inspired in their sociopolitical life by principles emanating from the faith and doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. According to this claim, the legal system in Poland is directed towards restricting the views of active religion, while the state political system makes Catholics into second-class citizens. At the same time, there is the general conviction that it is the intention of the state authorities to battle against religion, while the Catholic that decides to take an active part in the social life of Poland must pay the price of abandoning views emanating from his affiliation with the Roman Catholic Church and of being duty-bound to engage in actions that lead essentially to the obliteration of Christian values and to the strengthening of atheism in Poland.



Those that make the preceding claims are undaunted by the fact that they are in total disagreement with the theory of the socialist state, with its constitutional principles and the binding legal standards in our state that emanate from these principles and with the practice of social and political life in Poland.

In conjunction with this it should be noted that the equality of all Polish citizens, regardless of their religious convictions, possesses in Poland clearly stated constitutional guarantees and applies to all fields of state, political, economic, social and cultural life. According to these guarantees, a citizen's religious attitude in our state neither limits, increases nor differentiates his electoral rights, his right to learning and education, his right to penal, civil or administrative protection, his right to health protection and his access to cultural values.

The basis for the equality of all citizens, regardless of their religious convictions, is the Polish constitutionally defined principle of freedom of conscience and religion. It means that every citizen possesses total freedom to profess whatever religion best suits him or to profess no religion at all; to manifest his religious convictions and to act according to their dictates; not to manifest his religious convictions; to belong to whatever church or religious alliance he chooses, to change freely his professed religion and to move from one religious alliance to another or to abandon all affiliation with any sort of religion as well as to create a new religious alliance, and to engage in religious practices, both individually and in a group.

The principle of the equality of citizens regardless of their religious convictions has not only been established formally in People's Poland, but is implemented consistently in practice. This is made possible by the separation of church and state and by the creation of indispensable conditions for the work of religious alliances that serve the implementation of the needs of the faithful based on the principles of equality. Freedom of conscience and religion possess in our state the indispensable protection of the law. The PRL Constitution itself dictates that "A citizen may not be forced not to participate in religious activities or ceremonies. Nor may anyone be forced to participate in religious activities or ceremonies." It also states that "Any direct or indirect privileges or curtailment of rights due to (...) religion is subject to a penalty" and also decrees that "The spreading of hate or contempt, the sowing of discord or the humiliating of a person because of (...) religion is subject to a penalty."

The detailed guarantees of freedom of conscience and religion and the scope of penal accountability for actions that violate this principle are specified in the penal code. This document lists the crimes associated with: restricting citizen's rights for not professing a religion or for his religious affiliations; insulting groups of people or particular individuals for these same reasons; abusing freedom of conscience and religion to the detriment of PRL interests; taking advantage of another's religious beliefs and gullibility by leading him astray or by causing a mob scene or some other disruption of public order, and forcing another person to participate in religious activities or ceremonies or preventing him from taking part in such activities

or ceremonies through the use of physical force or mental pressure. Moreover, the penal code defines the following as criminal acts: disrupting a funeral for religious reasons, offending religious feelings through publicly insulting an object or place of religious worship and publicly creating discord based on religious differences or publicly praising such dissension.

The preceding list shows that the state legal standards represent, in equal measure, guarantees of freedom of conscience and religion both for the faithful and for nonbelievers, regardless of the religion they profess. It likewise shows that tolerance, that in no way is directed towards preferring and defending atheism, lies at the foundation of the state's attitude to religion. This listing likewise makes it possible to distinguish precisely two qualitatively different phenomena, namely: religious activism subject to legal protection and actions aimed at making use of freedom of conscience and religion in a manner that violates the legally defined interest of society as a whole or the rights and freedoms of other persons that carry legal sanctions.

Thus, in Poland there is no obstacle to the active externalization of one's religious convictions, as long as this does not lead to the violation of the world view of other citizens, does not cause one to shirk his civic responsibilities and does not violate the interests of the state and its powers. In Poland, the legally defined restrictions in the use of freedom of conscience and religion are totally in harmony with the standards of international law. Article 28 of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, passed by the UN General Assembly in 1948, states that all rights and freedoms "are subject to such limitations as are established exclusively for the purpose of ensuring the proper recognition of and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and for the purpose of complying with the valid requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare of a democratic society."

The expression of a religious conviction represents no obstacle to participation in the sociopolitical life of our state. The position of the PZPR and state organs regarding the need and possibility of cooperation of the faithful and nonbelievers, Marxists and Catholics and members of other religions is of an unchanging and enduring nature. Already today, such cooperation is a principle implemented in all fields of social life. This is possible on many important issues both from the Marxist and the religious viewpoint, regardless of the competition of the various world views, that is an objective fact in our country.

Cooperation over and above the various world views, an important element of the political culture of our society, takes place both in the course of joint work in industrial plants and at construction sites, in the fields, in schools and universities, in offices, on people's councils, in the Sejm, the Council of State and the government.

The Sejm elections can become an important incentive for improving the skills of cooperation of people that hold different world views, and the ongoing pre-election discussion in Poland can contribute in a vital way towards the

further concretization of the spheres of cooperation. This is promoted by the fact that among the candidates for deputy, there are many secular religious associations and by the fact that the attitude to religion was not a criterion for the setting up of the electoral lists. It is obvious that among the future deputies, alongside representatives of PAX, the ChSS [Christian Social Association] and PZKS [Polish Catholic-Social Union], there will be those that hold other religious convictions. Thus, it is in the common interest of all Poles that want our homeland to achieve prosperity, strength and authority to counteract the use of religious differences to call forth sociopolitical tensions.

8536

CSO: 2600/38

POLAND

CHURCH HISTORICAL MONUMENT DESTROYED IN FIRE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by: (j)]

[Text] (Czestochowa) (Own Information). On Sunday, 15 September, at about 8:10 pm, a fire broke out in the wooden church made of larch trunks known as Holy Trinity Church, located in Ciasna, Czestochowa Province. This building, a class "O" monument, burned to the ground despite extremely intensive fire-fighting efforts made by 19 firefighting units. Losses are estimated at approximately 18 million zlotys. An investigative team from the RUSW [Regional Office of Internal Affairs] in Lubliniec came to the scene. Major B. Bak, RUSW chief, also was present.

Preliminary findings show that on 15 September, the final service of the day was conducted until 5:45. A pilgrimage from St. Ann's Hill participated in this service. The mass was officiated by Father Oswald Bobrzych, parish pastor. Acolyte Fryderyk Maniek closed the church at 6:00 and took the keys to the rectory.

The conflagration was noticed by the residents of Ciasna at 8:10 pm. A motorist was passing through the village and, becoming alarmed, informed the fire brigade in Lubliniec.

It was determined that the source of the fire most probably was near the altar. From there the flames carried toward the tower, which was located over the entrance to the sacristy.

Yesterday, 16 September, representatives of the Provincial Fire Department Headquarters and the RUSW in Lubliniec were at the site of the conflagration to conduct further investigation of the causes of the fire.

8536

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POLAND

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE IN BIALYSTOK

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 5

[Text] On 16 September, a peace conference with the slogan "Bialystok-area Christians in the Name of Peace" was held in Bialystok. It was organized by Father Bishop Sawa, ordinary of the Orthodox Diocese of Bialystok-Gdansk, under the patronage of the Bialystok Committee of the Defenders of Peace, of which Bishop Sawa is a member.

Representatives of the various Christian churches and religious unions from the Bialystok Province and religious and secular activists of the peace movement from the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary participated in the deliberations. Hosts from the Bialystok Province also were in attendance.

According to K. Morawski, a common theme of the addresses made by discussants was the assertion that the threat of a nuclear catastrophe imposes on Christians the duty to make all societies aware of this danger. The importance of recent peace initiatives made by the Soviet Union that, unfortunately, have not been received properly in the United States was emphasized. The chairman of ChSS [Christian Social Association] alluded to the current problems of Poland, emphasizing that in less than a month, Sejm elections will be held, and that people, aware of the progress made thus far in social policy and in the implementation of the reform, ought to vote for preserving understanding and national accord. For this reason, we associate the issue of the elections and our participation in them with the cause of peace.

Participants in the meeting adopted a "Call to Peace" that states that an analysis of the situation in the world fills people with anxiety, regardless of their world views. As Christians we feel deeply the causes of the current impasse in international relations. We see them primarily in the spiritual sphere. The lack of trust leads to the arms race; intolerance leads to enmity; pride leads to arrogance and to acting from a position of strength. The modern world has found itself on the brink of a precipice. The expansive arms policy of the United States has caused the danger of nuclear and cosmic warfare to reach a height in the face of which no one can be indifferent. In this tense situation of danger to the spiritual and material achievements of previous generations and the sacred gift of life, stress the authors of the appeal, we are opposed resolutely to the evil ushered in by war.

Foreign guests of the conference placed flowers at the monument to the Heroes of the Bialystok area.

POLAND

# REACTION TO ATHLETE'S 'DEFECTION' TO WEST GERMANY

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 21 Jul 85 p 4

[Article by Witold Dunski: "The Final Jump"]

[Text] Midnight. I put down my book but do not turn off the light. The radio broadcasts the results of the new pole vault record. Sergiei Bubka of the Soviet Union has made it over at 6 meters. The world new services are writing a great deal about the Soviet achievement and about the USSR's competitor. About our pole vaulter too, but for entirely different reasons. They are writing about how Wladyslaw Kozakiewicz is no longer going to be representing Poland. Some of the reporters are pleased over the fact, others slightly annoyed.

Let me say it right off! I do not understand why Olympic champion Wladyslaw Kozakiewicz asked for political asylum in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The questions arise naturally: Who was persecuting him in Poland? Had he been getting into someone's way? Had he been in torment?!

The answers have to be clear ones. They need to be real!

When I interviewed him last December, he was disappointed at being disqualified by the Polish Light Athletics Union, but he did not want to ask to have the penalty reduced or revoked. It ended on its own at the appointed time. In the spring he flew to Brazil. He trained in Spain and in Poland. He did not talk about new world records, but he declared he would continue pole vaulting up to the Olympics in Seoul and top the Polish record, which had been the world record at the Moscow games. There he had been the first star of Polish athletics, and he could have continued to be, with no end in sight, because such athletes are not forgotten. And their value is appreciated to the extreme. He had received medals for sports, the Knight's Cross of the Order of the Polish Renaissance for merit to his country, and universal goodwill.

When he knocked on the door of the Physical Education Committee, it opened on its own. The minister remembered Kozakiewicz and received him, and the secretary smiled at him. He had a place assured him on the team of the Baltic Sports Club, on the national team, and on the Polish delegation to the athletic congress at Baden Baden in 1981, where there was a discussion of the athlete's rights and responsibilities vis-a-vis society.

He did not go hungry! He was not cooped up with family in M-4! His home stood on Nowotki Heights in Gdynia on land the town gave him. It was a splendid house, almost out of a dream, something the average Pole could not attain.

So why the trip west?! The West was open to an athlete and to his family, at any moment. Yesterday, today, and tomorrow.

The request for FRG citizenship?

Kozakiewicz was a sportsman and not a political figure. He was pampered by the authorities, not condemned. I do not think he will have all that in the FRG or in any other country, if he decides to break his ties to his country forever. So the question is why?

To do world pole-vault jumping and teach the sport to young Germans? Nobody in Poland is keeping him from jumping. Nobody has closed the way to training young people in sports. Nobody has slammed the cash drawer closed. Nobody has taken away the chance for intellectual and social advancement and development.

Awaiting him here were the sports club, a place on the Polish team, and state and club funding. He leaves behind memories of him and regret that he crossed the German border without saying Goodbye, like a stranger.

I do not understand. I do not understand, because I do not see that any mistakes were made with regard to him. Well, with the exception of one: sometimes for stars a comfortable rug is spread out too far. They walk comfortably on it, gather privileges, and slowly become egotists. They think only of themselves. That is clear! Not all stars and not all heroes of our sports days.

I was close to Kozakiewicz, and not on only one occasion. I saw him jump at the European championships in Rome, where he won his first medal, and in Prague, where he missed a medal. I watched him and wrote about him at the Olympic Games in Montreal, which ended with a painful contusion, and at the Olympic Games in Moscow, which I do not need to mention, because we recall them well. I liked him the same as Jack Wszola, like Tadeusz Slusarski, like Janusz Peciak, because it would be hard not to like them for what they did in sports, and because we knew each other in the past, I think I have the right to talk to Kozakiewicz publicly and at a distance. But this conversation cannot be complete, because I do not hear the voice of the other party. Will there be any sound? Will there be an answer to what I do not understand?

You can look at the Olympic champion's disembarking from the Polish ship in Hamburg, Germany in different ways: indifferently or emotionally, coolly or with a heart that beats uneasily. My heart ached when I learned that Jozef Szmidt, gold medalist in the triple jump at the games in Rome and Tokyo, had gone to the FRG, and when I learned of the departure of Andrzej Badenski, bronze medalist in the 400-meter run in Tokyo, and also when Olympic champion Witold Woyda, fencer who won the gold medal in foils at Munich, travelled west. In

Poland they reached perfection. It was here that they went so high in their sports that the national anthem was played for them, and the words [of that anthem] "Poland has not yet perished" were for them. Maybe today it is not spoken, it is not mentioned. One can pretend that it did not happen, but is silence a better response to the question of why?

A couple of times I expressed my doubts about the way athletes, those who represent our country in meets, often national heroes and whether it is deep and comprehensive enough.

In the concern for muscles and conditioning, do sports officials create the conditions for athletes to develop mental capacity which goes beyond the physical?

Perhaps the ever clearer treatment of sports as not the worst way to make a living without the need of getting a college degree in humanities, mathematics, or the natural sciences might lead to the creation of stars and not sports heroes. A star is looked at, a hero is imitated.

Can one imitate a person, an athlete, who is impressive only because he can run 100 meters faster than anyone else in the world?

Consciously or unconsciously, in contemporary sports no attention is being paid to what not long ago was called formation and development. When champions are presented in various polls for Poland's best sportsmen, their professions and education are cleverly overlooked. This is not at all surprising. They simply have nothing of which to boast. And there were years when it was mentioned that Wojciech Zablocki is an architect, that Tadeusz Rut is an engineer, that Ryszard Parulski is an attorney. Today's famous athletes graduate through extension with majors in physical education, without looking at a book of Polish history, the history of philosophy, the history of life. And this bears fruit in the moral and ethical shallowness of more than one champion. Is this the unavoidable process of modern sports or the result of errors stemming from development in sports? Let me repeat the word "development," not talking about it.

There is one other important matter. Many competitors, Olympians, are terrified with the thought of life outside athletics. They train hard in the ring, on the field, but the training leads to competitions, to appearances at home and abroad, to acclaim. After they leave the field, ordinary life begins, and this is why, despite the complaints about the hard work in athletics, champions do not want to give up the weights, the soccer ball, or the pole vault, that is, their sport, at all. They are paid better and receive awards and acclaim in their sport. Does all this have anything to do with Kozakiewicz's attitude? Do not oversimplify things! No cowardly closing of the eyes in face of the phenomena.

It may happen in the future that some Olympic medalist will ask for asylum in the FRG. Painful facts are not limited to sports, but in sports there could be as few as possible if we could avoid making such silly mistakes as picking Wladyslaw Komar as one of the ten best athletes of 4 decades, which he himself considered inappropriate in view of other competitors with more than just an Olympic gold medal to their credit.



Sometimes it turns out that to be an Olympic champion does not mean much. Maybe nothing?! It would be a sad thing if the society became convinced of this idea. Let me return to Wladyslaw Kozakiewicz, the unforgettable pole vaulter at the 22nd Olympics.

For my private use I ran a questionnaire among people interested in sports, people connected professionally to athletics, and people who were either indifferent to sports or even held some enmity. They all said that they did not understand the champion's decision but that they were not in favor of crossing their names out of the books or off the tables of recordholders or Olympic champions. The past simply cannot be erased.

And you cannot take Kozakiewicz out of the memories of children who one day will ask why he does not come to the Polish school in Gdynia, where they were born and have their home. I think that will be a terrible question, for there is no answer to it.

10790

CSO: 2600/1012

POLAND

## YOUTH'S MOTIVATIONS, ASPIRATIONS FEATURED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 28 Jul 85 p 2

[Article by Ryszard Karpowicz: "Versions and Controversies: the Dispute Over Aspirations"]

[Text] If we are to believe Gogol, then "we owe chaos not so much to the stupid as to the wise who have overestimated their own (and our) strength." This may be the reason that today we are dealing with a noticeable decline in the respect for knowledge and diplomas, with academic and professional titles, or finally the attraction to government service from several decades ago. The thing now is to make a lot of money. Therefore the impressive things are individual, private ability to make a way for one's self, extraprofessional mobility, and organizational cleverness with personal benefit in mind. This is the reason, for example, that public opinion is swayed by the information that college graduates who have made it into valuable and much-needed professions at public expense are now giving up those professions to go into business primarily.

So why study, go to college? It is worthwhile to consider this now during the July college registration battle to get into an attractive institution, to see whether this academic effort will set me up in the future. Like those on the television program "Facing Choices" (life choices, of course), will I not be deciding on a way of extending my youth at the cost of my parents? Is an engineer's, physicians, or teacher's diploma a real way for me to find my spot in a profession and in life? For example, is it better for me to have a college diploma as a historian or language specialist so that I can have the status of being a teacher in a high school or technical school for 9,000-15,000 zlotys per month, or to take a job as caretaker with or without the degree for 20,000-30,000 zlotys per month? That is how much a man or woman serving as caretaker can earn in a medium-sized school doing various simple maintenance and custodian tasks during a regular 8-hours-per-day-including-Saturdays schedule.

This sort of choice faces us as the result of various phenomena of the working world and its pathology, its organization, its conditions, and its effectiveness. Added to this is the warped notion of social, professional, and collegial prestige as a result of the sudden changes in family and community customs and in political culture, and it is just in these spheres that there are created the motivations and life aspirations of successive generations of young people

along with their styles of behavior and ways of acting. The crisis has revealed to us the scale of these distortions and indicated the urgent need to reconstruct the principles upon which social and cultural progress is based in a socialist society.

Therefore Krzysztof Szymoniak was right when he wrote in Poznan's NURT: "The era of happy isles is gone forever, and here at home things are as they are in the world." Because in this world there is a great scientific and technological race, and because "synthetic gold" must take the place of the diminishing supply of the original mineral, the country will be just the way its well-educated citizenry shapes it, a citizenry which is continually having its specialists in the social sciences, technology, biology, and economics improve their skills. Any decline in efforts or aspirations, any focusing on the tip of one's nose or a chase after easy money for one's own convenience, condemns us to life in a country whose civilization is regressing.

This is why, in my view, the dispute over aspirations is a discussion about the social and economic conditions motivating young people in choosing their way of life, especially the values for which we must live and are worth living for. This choice must be facilitated by an ideological understanding in the broadest sense of the term between state institutions and the society, which create individuals who want to live in health and happiness. Therefore it is a question of using the organization of state life to help insure that knowledge and skill are properly rewarded by creating and developing the right system of social advancement. In this area our past educational and scientific policy have not produced results in proportion to the organizational efforts and investments made. In a word, educational policy does not reward intellectual effort. Immediate group or class goals flavored with propaganda fitting the current situation hide the long-range prospects for the anticipated social and economic progress.

It is not surprising that our schools have recently been named "diploma and certificate mills." There is even talk about the threat of a disease fatal to our educational system as a result of the crisis in values it serves: the values of reason, argument, knowledge, skill, solid work, and, above all, the ironclad relationship between the effort uput forth and the result achieved. Thus there is an inflated confusion over the social value of the Master's degree and the Doctor's degree, as well as the secondary certificate. The time has come for us to say openly that what is important is not only how much one earns but also how one earns it and what one does. Therefore, in setting aspirations we must take into account all the motivations and above all be aware of whether our social teaching is meeting the country's developmental realities.

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POLAND

## NEW ACADEMIC YEAR INITIATES MEETINGS, DISCUSSIONS

### Higher Education Rectors On New Laws

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Sep 85 p 5

[Article by A. S.: "Facing the New Academic Year, Conference of Rectors of Pedagogical Institutes"]

[Text] Before the beginning of a new school year, it is traditional for the academic leadership to meet with representatives of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. The first in a cycle of these meetings took place on 12 September in the Higher Pedagogical School in Slupsko. Participating in the meeting were rectors and secretaries of educational committees of PZPR, representatives of educational units of political parties and members of leading organs of youth organizations active in the higher schools. Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science and higher education, presided.

The conferences concentrated on the problems connected with the implementation by the pedagogical institutes of their statutory obligations. As is known, in the coming academic year, the higher schools will work on a new legal basis adopted by the Sejm for the whole sphere of science and higher schooling. The new legal regulations create a basis for eliminating from the range of activities of the higher schools those shortcomings or unfairness that have a negative effect on didactic and educational work.

As has been stressed in the program papers, the amended regulation on higher education creates broad possibilities for self-government in the administration of the higher schools. It does not violate the essence of academic self-government. It is a precise statement of the rights and obligations of the eligible organs, individual and collective, of the higher schools, giving the deciding voice in these to the professors and docents. It reinforces the academic character of self-government of the institutions. Student self-government, with sufficient authority to affect the didactic-educational work and the social conditions of youth, is accorded a range of activity suitable to its essence and function. The increased competence of deans and rectors in administering the institutions and of the minister in supervising their activity make it possible not only to counteract phenomena or tendencies that are anticipated to have harmful effects from the social point of view, but also to conduct a consistent and effective policy of instruction and education.

Besides disseminating the new regulations and implementing appropriate orders, the new tasks for the immediate future will be the improvement of didactic and educational work, including especially raising the level and duration of studies, increasing the teaching activity of the pedagogical institutions particularly in the area of modernizing teaching methods and improving the educational system as well as participating in a suitable way in community-social events, that is, campaigns in the Sejm elections.

Many matters were touched on in the discussions, specifically matters connected with the introduction of charters for the higher schools and activities of organizations and student self-government.

In the concluding summation, Minister Miskiewicz decidedly denied rumors that there would be mass firings of academic teachers in the higher schools. An evaluation of the work and attitude of those who work in education, prepared this academic year just as it has been in past years, will be made by competent educational bodies under the leadership of deans and rectors. The minister said that the results of this evaluation should frighten none but those who do not have adequate qualifications or whose activity continues to be contrary to the tasks of state higher schools.

#### Agricultural Academy Rectors Meet

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14-15 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by A. S.: "Before the New Academic Year"]

[Text] The organization of the work of agricultural academies for the coming academic year with respect to the new regulations was the topic of discussion at a conference of rectors of these academies and administrators from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. It took place on 13 September at the Agricultural Academy in Poznan; participants included secretaries of the PZPR educational committees, the chairpersons of education units of political parties, and representatives of national administrators of trade unions and youth organizations. The minister, Professor Benon Miskiewicz, presided at the conferences.

#### Adult Education Numbers Increase

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14-15 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by L.E.M.]

[Text] During the current school year, there will be approximately 240,000 students in schools for workers and approximately 3 million persons in classes outside the schools, including 1.5 million at trade schools.

Participating in the opening ceremony were: Stanislaw Kalkus, member of the politburo PZPR central committee, and Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the central committee.

#### Officials at Social Sciences Conference

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Sep 85 p 2

["Kronika: Social Sciences in the Higher Schools"]

[Text] On 16-17 September in Warsaw, there was a conference of the directors of academic organizational units for sociopolitical studies; this conference was organized by the division of science and education of the PZPR central committee, the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, and the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences. Papers were presented by Professor S. Nowacki, deputy minister for science and higher education: "The Tasks of the Ministry of Science of Higher Education and the Higher Schools during the 1985/86 Academic Year with Special Consideration of the Role of Academic Organizational Units of the Sociopolitical Sciences"; Dr Z. Sajkowski, director of the social sciences sector of the division of science and education: "The Real Tasks of Social Sciences in the Light of the Resolutions of the Party Administration"; Professor R. Chelinski, prorector of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences: "Potentials and Proposals of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences during Implementation of the Tasks of Cooperation in the Area of Scientific Research and Improving the Teaching Staffs of the Higher Schools"; and Professor A. Bodnar, director of the main center for political science methodology studies: "The Real Didactic Tasks in the Area of Sociopolitical Subjects."

Professor H. Bednarski, secretary of the PZPR central committee, met with conference participants.

The conference participants also had informative meetings with the prorectors, deans of faculties and directors of institutes of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences.

Professor B. Ratus, director of the faculty of science and education of the PZPR central committee, presided at the conference.

#### Increased Construction for Education

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by A. S.: "At the Start of the New Academic Year: New Instructional and Social Buildings"]

[Text] According to the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, schools that are subject to this ministry will increase their holdings in the new academic year by several new buildings. Among the more important new buildings already turned over for occupancy are the buildings and instruc-

tional pavilions of the School for Central Planning and Statistics in Warsaw, a branch of Slask University in Cieszyn and the non-resident division of the Krakow Agricultural Academy in Rzeszow.

Research and teaching as well as workshops and exercises will be conducted with the students in new buildings already turned over for use at the Higher School of Engineering in Radom, the Scientific Research Plant for Automotive Transportation and the Agricultural Technical Academy in Olsztyn, and a new pavillion at the Institute for Contagious Diseases. Social conditions will also improve for the academic personnel and students. The Higher School of Engineering in Radom will occupy a new auxiliary hotel and the Agricultural Academy in Krakow and the Agricultural Technical Academy in Olsztyn already have new student dining rooms.

The next two student dining rooms were scheduled for opening at Slask University in Katowice and at the Higher School of Engineering in Zielona Gora as early as September. Meanwhile, the students at the Warsaw Polytechnical School and the Agricultural Academy in Szczecin will get new class rooms.

According to assurances of enterprises doing the construction for the higher schools, by the end of this calendar year, work will be finished on 11 educational, didactic and social facilities. Among others, a new student building for Lodz University, a classroom building for the Higher School of Engineering in Opole, and a research laboratory for study of transport for the Polytechnical Institute in Lublin are scheduled to be put into operation this year. But it is certain that seven other buildings proposed for the higher schools and anticipated in the investment plan for completion this year will be moved through so-called slippage into 1986. The reasons for the delay are always the same: shortage of finishing materials or shortage of production workers.

The countrywide limitations on construction activity did not by-pass the higher schools. The investment plan of the office for education is aiming at concentrating expenditures and organizing efforts most of all on continuing and finishing construction that has already been started. It must be added that medical academies will have several new buildings before they begin their school year.

#### PZPR Consultations on National Education

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 85 p 5

[Article: "Problems of Education"]

[Text] Within the framework of a consultation before the plenum of the PZPR central committee in matters of national education, Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the PZPR central committee met with a group of teachers of the schools of Wroclaw province. Opinions, views and evaluations were exchanged that pertained to the education system, the situation of the teachers that

work in villages as well as the premises of the conception of the model of future national education. Hosts of the meeting were teachers from elementary school No. 2 in Milicz.

#### PZPR Political Science Lecturers Confer

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 85 p 5

[Article: "Tasks of Political Science in the New Academic Year"]

[Text] On 22 September, Henryk Bednarski, secretary of the PZPR central committee met in Bierutowice in the Jelenia Gora province with several dozen teachers of political science, participants in a regional conference on political science, representing the schools of Warsaw, Wroclaw, Lodz, Lublin and Zielona Gora.

Under discussion were the complicated tasks of political science centers during the 1985/86 academic year resulting from the recommendations of the PZPR central committee political office concerning the basic directions of social sciences in Poland.

#### History Teaching Modifications

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Sep 85 p 5

[Article: "The Program of History Education"]

[Text] On 23 September, the workers collective for "Implementing the Program of History Education," met; Professor Marian Orzechowski, politburo member of the PZPR central committee, presided. There was a discussion of the directions of changes in the program of teaching history in middle and elementary schools, of the state of handbooks for teaching most recent history and of the directions of action that were indicated by the present and future needs of the schools in the field of history education.

The basis for the discussion were materials that had been prepared by the Institute of School Programs and the history editorial staffs of school and pedagogical publishers.

#### Conference Focuses on 1980-85 Politics

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 85 p 5

[Article: "Education Conference in Cieszyn"]

[Text] On 23 September a nationwide conference opened in a branch of the Slask University in Cieszyn; it was organized by faculties engaged in political science at the University of Warsaw, Jagiellonian University and Slask University in Katowice. The principal subject was the political prob-



lems of 1980-85. Bronislaw Ratus, director of the department of science and education, participated in the opening of the conference.

#### National Meeting of Student Associations

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Sep 85 p 5

[Article: "The Polish Student Association before the New Academic Year"]

[Text] On 20-22 September, there was a national conference in Uniejow, Konin province, of the action group of the Polish Student Association. The main tasks of the organization for the new academic year were outlined.

Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the politburo of the central committee and chairman of the youth commission of the PZPR central committee, met with conference participants. The role of the Polish Student Association in the Sejm was discussed as were the implementation of resolutions of the ninth plenum of the PZPR central committee that were concerned with youth affairs and the attitude of the highest authorities toward the work of the association. Responding to numerous questions of the students, Czechowicz pointed out the most important social, political and economic problems that currently mark the situation of our country and require careful resolution.

Participants of the conference addressed an elections appeal to the academic community. The appeal includes the following: "The times demand that we rise above the grievances and daily criticism. We do not like pathos, but the approaching Sejm elections will become an occasion for a declaration of our attitude toward Poland: let us change reality by voting as well. Let us vote for the best, regardless of the position they occupy on the elections lists."

#### PRON Meets Warsaw Medical Academy Rector

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 85 p 5

[Article: "Problems of the Medical Academy"]

[Text] On 23 September, Jan Dobraczynski, chairman of the national council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, received representatives of the administration of the Medical Academy in Warsaw with the rector, Professor Jan Nielubowicz and Dr Wojciech Pawlowski, first secretary of the school committee. Didactic, scientific and therapeutic processes carried out by the Medical Academy were discussed as were the efforts undertaken to train future medical personnel in all respects.

Special attention was given to the pursuit of a renewal of the traditional medical ethos. There was a discussion of problems connected with conditions of teaching, mainly difficulties arising from lack of proper accommodations for the main library of the Medical Academy and for the Department of

Forensic Medicine. Both facilities are located in a building constructed in 1928 and intended then only for the Department of Forensic Medicine. The present situation makes the proper functioning of each of these units difficult and has a negative effect on the training of new generations of physicians; at the same time it makes proper administration of justice in five provinces impossible.

Dobraczynski gave assurances of support for the Medical Academy administration's efforts to improve the situation.

Krakow Rector on Sejm, Self-Government.

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Sep 85 pp 1,2

[Interview with Professor Jozef Gierowski, rector of Jagiellonian University by Janina Paradowska: "We Must Not Think Alike"]

[Text] Professor Jozef Gierowski was proposed to the All-Poland Elections Convention for inclusion in the national elections list by the national council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

[Question] Professor Gierowski, when I was preparing for our conversation, I recalled a statement made by a colleague of yours, also a historian, Professor Stanislaw Grzybowski. He said that history is a Utopia cast on the past since there is a natural psychological need to escape into the past, like the escape into the times of childhood from which human memory selects what is best. Was your choice of a career also based on such premises?

[Answer] The time when I decided to study history was a very important time. It was during the occupation. On the one hand, history was supposed to make it easier for me to understand everything that was going on around us, and mainly to provide an answer to the question as to how we could have come to such a catastrophe and violation of elementary principles of human behavior; on the other hand, I expected that it would facilitate my finding in myself, in my environment, those elements that would, despite everything, make it possible to endure, to oppose, to mobilize myself for a hard-fought battle.

[Question] The assumption is not at all utopian, rather it is pragmatic.

[Answer] I would not deny, however, that history was also a breaking away from the reality of that time, and, therefore, in making the choice, there was something of Utopia, but it was only one of the elements in the decision.

[Question] Did this pragmatism influence the choice of some fields of investigation and not others? The times of the Saxons, parliamentarism, the history of Slask: will we find a common denominator for these interests?

[Answer] I always tried to deal with periods, as far as this was possible, that were not liked very much by historians, phenomena that sometimes went

unperceived or were treated as second rank. This applied precisely to the Saxon times. I started to work with this period while the war was still going on for my first master's thesis was to have dealt with the role of the Jasno Gora fortress during the war in the north. I could not finish it because the Germans began to be somewhat interested in a young man who frequently visited the archives of the Paulist fathers. But I returned to this subject after the war. The times of the Saxons was a period of greatest decadence of the nobility, but it was a time, too, when a renewal was also beginning. Through the activity of enlightened people, revitalization of the economy and culture was beginning following unparalleled calamities that befell the Republic at the beginning of the 18th century. I was interested, therefore, in the society during the period of disintegration, a grave illness, but with a possibility of curing itself. Also, in the research on the history of Slask, I was faithful to the problem since I was actually most interested in the economic and cultural rebirth of Slask after the thirty-year war. I succeeded then in questioning the statement made in Prussian historical writings that the renewal occurred only after Slask was annexed by Prussia. In other words, I was finding similar phenomena and trying to understand how a nation can save itself and regain its former position after disasters have befallen it.

[Question] It is difficult for me to place the subject of Polish parliamentarianism in the mainstream of your pursuits.

[Answer] Because this is a somewhat different field of investigation. I came to it quite by accident, but I was fascinated by looking for an answer to the question of how the minor sejms were expressions of an attitude of community of the nobility, how its interests were represented at this lowest step of parliamentarianism, and what the basis for the participation of the nobility in the governing of the country. Next, I tried to look at the same subject from another angle, from the angle of the confederation, an institution that was, under our conditions, a form of emergency action, but which was also necessary for the country at a time when the Sejm was disintegrating. On the basis of examples from the beginning of the 18th century, I tried to orient myself as to how the nobility could, through the confederation, affect the course of state affairs, and what was the extent of the possibility of its directly affecting the process of governing the country.

[Question] We would like to know how not to repeat that which was bad, how to do things better. It is difficult, of course, to build bridges over the centuries and to speak of lessons flowing directly from centuries of experience, but there must be some lessons that flow.

[Answer] If we can speak of some lesson from the past, then I would like to call attention to one matter which, in my opinion, is essential. The greatest danger for all parliamentary organs always and everywhere is making all attitudes the same. What happened in the Republic, the fact that a single representative could break up the Sejm, brought the whole matter to absurdity. But we must not forget that all of this was based on the quite mad idea that everyone thinks alike or in similar ways and that there could not be

basic differences among the representatives. For this reason, much better and longer lasting were the solutions adopted in countries that were reconciled beforehand to pluralism of attitudes and to the fact that it is necessary to know how to submit to the judgments of the majority. Moreover, if we are now speaking of the Polish parliament, then we must always remember that the weakness of the Republic did not lie in the resolutions adopted or the constitutions, or the decisions made (to the extent that decisions were made), but in the lack of skill in their implementation by the weak and insufficiently developed executive branch. Maintaining proper proportions between the executive organs and the legislative and controlling organs depends on the wisdom of the organizers of a government.

[Question] The history of the Polish parliament is recalled very often in speaking of our national traits. Then people usually go to extremes: either of self-admiration that we were the first and so splendid or degrading statements that Poles were not mature enough for democracy.

[Answer] I am opposed to extreme judgments, although I know that they are respected today. For this reason I am opposed to this elevating of oneself above others. It is enough to trace the history of our neighbors, the Czechs or Hungarians to perceive that their similar institutions lasted, that we took them as an example.

[Question] But they did not last as long there that they had here.]

[Answer] It is true that the duration of representative institutions was a mark of the Republic, but this was not an exceptional situation in Europe. And the matter of not being ready for democracy? Reflections on this subject remind me of other, somewhat empty discussions and polemics that have a long tradition here: are peasants ready for enfranchisement. Should we first try to educate them, raise their consciousness, or not wait, but give them land. I am not a partisan of long-term education of the people for democracy, particularly since this is not knowledge that can be mastered only in theory. I believe that it is better to say that we are teaching certain things slowly; we have traditions that weigh us down, traditions of a certain anarchization, lack of skill in submitting to the opinion of the majority, but learning to overcome these can be done only through practice.

[Question] For many years you were primarily a scholar, public posts seemed to be of no interest to you. I know that you even hesitated to assume the office of rector.

[Answer] This was the influence of experiences back at the University of Wroclaw. There I was a prodean, dean, and prorector and I knew how absorbing administrative matters were, how difficult it was to reconcile them with scholarly work. I simply do not know how to do it. During the first term as rector, I had hoped that after 3 years I would return to scholarly work. But I made a different decision. It would be difficult for me to do anything else, but it does not make it easier to settle accounts with myself. It seemed to me that I still had several things to write, primarily my basic

work on the confederation. I have been collecting material for this for a long time.

[Question] What was the decisive factor, then, in your ever greater involvement to public affairs?

[Answer] Everything that I have done in the last several years emanated from my basic view of the university and Polish education. From the conviction that without the participation of people of learning themselves in the formation of both their own research goals and in the organization of scholarly life and the process of education, we would be condemned to partial results, to a certain haphazardness of research, of which we are sometimes accused, which on the whole does not serve either knowledge or society well. I grew up in the university with a feeling for the importance of self-government. This I learned mainly from experiences at Wroclaw University, which was a somewhat different institution from the one which I now direct. At Wroclaw University there was an endowment of the tradition of the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwow for the creation of a radically new school by people living under the difficult conditions of a city that was rebuilding itself, of a territory that was being made productive again. That mixture produced a climate of very democratic conditions, especially in the first postwar years. Then I encountered various forms of administering academic life, and with squeezing it into an ever tightening corset of central decisions, and I formed a conviction that that is the wrong road. It elicits unnecessary antagonisms, breaks people's attitudes, interferes with what is the most important in scholarly work: being systematic, having continuity and peace. In 1968, I experienced a shock. I cannot remain silent about these happenings since they were decisive in a basic way in the course I subsequently took.

[Question] After 1968, you retired completely into scholarly privacy.

[Answer] Yes, until I knew that there was a possibility of the universities' regaining authority for self-government. Then I became involved in work leading to that goal, and to this day, it is the foremost thought behind my actions. Here I would like to state clearly that I do not consider self-government as a goal in itself, but believe that it, to a degree much greater than any forms of central management, will ensure the efficiency of scholarly work, the possibility of independent perception of goals that are open to a scholar as well as more effective education of youth. I do take into account that it is difficult, in our political system, to find truly good solutions which, without violating the basic goals that confront the state authorities, would provide for quite far-advanced self-government of academic life. Everything I have done in the last several years has been directed toward finding such solutions. I believe that for the good of the whole matter, for the good of the goals that we serve, such a formation of academic life is indispensable. Please allow me to use great words here, for I believe them to be absolute: my service to this principle, to this goal I believe to be a fundamental matter and every time, in every place that I find myself, my first concern will be specifically to realize this goal.

[Question] You are looking for that golden mean from 1981 in difficult times, in a changing political situation. If you were to try to sum up your experiences thus far, what would greater: the gains or the losses, the failures or the successes?

[Answer] When I look only from the perspective of the institution where I am rector, I could say that there is a not at all small number of successes. From the perspective of the whole of Poland, it is easier to see the failures. Lack of skill in using the delicate instruments of self-government have become apparent in the universities themselves and in the administrative apparatus. The need to increase central management has been recognized. This is an undoubted failure on my part, but it does not outweigh the reality of the goals that I have set for myself. I do not believe that what has happened, amendment of the legislation on higher schooling and the adoption of other laws pertaining to education, has eliminated the possibility for the development of self-government in academic life. Self-government will be more difficult, it will be more subject to interference from within, but it will continue to be, in its basic framework, possible to achieve. I do not conceal the fact that if I am elected representative, I will want to work so that what we find possible to accomplish, would not be restrained to the same degree by the feelings of the people who continue to believe that it is first necessary to educate for self-government and then to put it into practice.

[Question] You have been at the first pre-election meetings. Did these give you any indication of what the voters expect of the candidates?

[Answer] There were too few meetings to answer that question. I will tell you what I expect from contacts with centers other than the academic. I hope that these contacts will make it possible for me to state that the position that I represent with respect to academic and scholarly life may be useful also in other areas of our social and political life. It seemed to us that in the years from 1982 to 1985, when we were forming a new self-government at Jagiellonian University, that we were creating certain solutions that might serve as model solutions. Perhaps this was too ambitious a program, but it is my deep conviction that it is not a matter of indifference for many other institutions, for many other areas of our life.

[Question] Then you are expecting the voters to give you some affirmation of your own goals; what do you expect of yourself?

[Answer] That I would persevere and would have sufficient courage to take a position in every situation that would be compatible with the convictions and principles that have guided me thus far. I know that not everyone shares my views even on the subject of the functioning of the higher schools, but I believe that I found myself on the national list of candidates specifically because I represent a certain current of thought about our future, about the future of democratic institutions in our country, which may obviously be a subject for discussion or even criticism, but which must be accorded ever

greater possibilities for realization. I hope that this will actually be the case.

[Interviewer] Thank you.

Academic Chief on New Education Laws

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21-22 Sep 85 pp 1-2

[Interview with Professor Grzegorz Bialkowski, rector of the University of Warsaw, by Janina Paradowska: "Let Us Be a Living and Active Educational Institution"]

[Text] [Question] Professor Bialkowski, we spoke with you at the end of last December when you were preparing to assume the office of rector of the largest Polish educational institution. When I reviewed that conversation today, I saw that it might be titled, "A Thousand and One Problems of the University of Warsaw," problems in the sphere, let us say, of materials and spirit. Has anything changed?

[Answer] Let us begin with materials since it is much easier to make an unequivocal statement with respect to concrete things as to which matters we were successful in moving forward. The senate has already determined the location of the university library building on Powislíe, and we are getting ready at present to work out the technical-economic principles. Probably construction will begin in 1987. Construction will take several years, but we have finally taken a step forward. At the beginning of 1986, an auxiliary hotel will be turned over for occupancy. Especially because of this, we will be able to solve the problem of quartering foreigners coming here for longer visits (at present we are paying millions of zlotys to the Syrena monopoly for housing for students in the former auxiliary hotel). This will not change our situation to a significant degree, however; we will continue to be an educational institution, which on a national scale, has the least classroom space per student. The national average is 2.5-3 students per space, and we have "achieved" 6 students per space. The most difficult matter for this year is evacuation of one of the buildings of the biology department...

[Question] ...Did I hear you right? Did you use the word, "evacuation?"

[Answer] Yes, because this is not simply normal moving. The building is falling apart and threatens the safety of the workers and students. The problem is that thus far there is no place to put the biology department. We must analyze carefully all the possibilities for resolving this problem.

[Question] As I see it, there is no shortage in the sphere of material concerns, but what of the sphere of the spirit, or speaking more precisely, what is the atmosphere presently prevalent in the university? For very many months now we have been accustomed to describing the situation at the University of Warsaw, in a word, as difficult.

[Answer] At first I felt a certain lack of self-confidence, both with respect to the authorities as well as the academic community. But that is perhaps in the past. I believe that I and the whole team of prorectors will be able to demonstrate that we are the authority for the whole university, and not some part of it that was selected to oppose another part. I believe that this lack of confidence has also been overcome by effective application of evaluations based on merit and not allowing anyone to be harassed because of his views or membership in an organization.

[Question] Does what you say mean that the divisions that have frequently been quite sharp in the university are disappearing?

[Answer] They continue to exist, but unifying tendencies are appearing ever more often. I would say that the sides in conflicts are no longer monolithic and that it is easier today than it was some months ago to reach a compromise. I am glad of this because I believe that only in this way can we build university unity.

[Question] Did you believe at the beginning of your term that this unity would be built around new research tasks, a revitalization of the intellectual atmosphere, a feeling of pride in belonging to just this academic community?

[Answer] My general attitude is to show the community that there are no conditions that are so difficult that no good and positive things can be done. For this reason, I would like our academic community to believe that no work is in vain, to find more enthusiasm, and if necessary even to sacrifice. And this is already happening. This is an example. In the spring a rector's commission was formed which is working exceptionally actively. Specifically, we had a meeting with school supervisors in the capital area and neighboring provinces and determined the educational needs of the Warsaw macroregion for this academic year, and we will implement the conclusions. They pertain to many matters, such as postgraduate studies, lectures for teachers, setting up discussion circles or creating a center at the University of Warsaw to study the teaching of certain subjects.

[Question] I have observed for a long time that the University of Warsaw is becoming more and more open with respect to many centers and is taking various initiatives, for example, it announced full openness to cooperation with the Open University and supports the book collections of the University of Szczecin.

[Answer] But we would also like to work toward a greater degree of integration of the whole Warsaw academic community. Not to convince ourselves of any exceptional qualities of our institution, but because we believe that someone should fulfill that role and perhaps the university is best suited to it. In order to convert the idea into action, we came forward with a few suggestions, for example, training teachers in art subjects in conjunction with the Academy of Fine Arts and the Academy of Music, training teachers of



technical subjects with the Polytechnic Institute, and we are offering the workers in the technical institute our courses in language and Polish culture; we also offer courses for higher qualification to administrations of other institutions.

[Question] We are speaking several days before the beginning of the academic year. This beginning will occur under changed conditions and principles of functioning of the higher schools. At the end of July, the Sejm adopted a package of laws pertaining to education, including three laws that directly affect various aspects of the activity of your institution: the laws on higher schooling and on degrees and academic titles were amended, and a new law on the office of a minister of science and higher education was adopted. You yourself, the University of Warsaw senate, and a significant part of the academic community believed that this was premature, especially the amendment of the laws on higher schooling.

[Answer] The majority of our academic community believe that more time is required, at least to the end of the terms of the present administration, to prove this law in every respect, although we perceived that it was imperfect, and, like every law, must be subject to change. That it is difficult to formulate such an important legal act perfectly is evident from the fact that even now we can see quite a few inconsistencies and omissions in the law as amended in July, although we are only beginning to apply it in practice. Since a decision had been made on amending it, we concentrated our attention on the term and kind of changes that were made. I must say that the present law on higher education, although it does not meet our aspirations and expectations completely, is much better than was first proposed. In short, it will be possible to work with it. The greatest doubt, and, I will not hide it, fear is aroused by the law pertaining to the office of the minister of science and higher education, which accords the minister such great prerogatives that he can do anything short of dissolving the university. I am deeply convinced that the minister will not use these powers widely, but they are entered in the law, and therefore the concerns of the community have their basis. Regardless of all the fears for the future, however, the law is the law and as such obliges us all.

[Question] The duty of the university authorities is to implement the changes adopted in the law on higher education,

[Answer] We have been taking specific steps in this area since August. The first step was the result of dissolving the college of electors, which was eliminated by the amended law. I considered it proper to thank the members of the college of electors of the University of Warsaw for all their joint work. Now we are setting up collegial bodies, a senate and boards of departments, to meet the requirements of the law. This is being done in two stages. In the first stage, the mandates of elected auxiliary school personnel and student representatives become ineffective. We do not yet know how selection will be made in the second stage of representatives of these two groups and of representatives of independent school workers although the mandates of the latter remain valid at this time; in our senate, almost every

department is represented by two independent workers, but the law stipulates one person per department.

[Questiond] The matter of elections must be governed by the charter of the institution.

[Answer] Actually we are now beginning work on a new charter based on a model charter signed by the minister. The model charter was approved on 16 September. We have 6 months from that time to prepare our own charter on that model. We do not want to postpone this matter too long, and I hope that in 2 months we will succeed in presenting the new charter of the University of Warsaw to the minister so that as early as the winter semester we will be able to hold senate and department council elections. Thus far we do not have the very important decree from the minister as to the form of student self-government, and the law stipulates that the chairman of student self-government will be a member of the senate. I know that a draft of such a decree has already been prepared and the principles of creating self-government and electing its administration that are embodied in it (if they are not changed) will be completely democratic and will make an authentic election of student representatives possible. But the short term of office of those making up the self-government awakens doubts.

[Question] Is the model charter the first executive act of the law that the institution received?

[Answer] The first and thus far, the only, but of course there must be several dozen various executive orders. We might, therefore, be concerned that after many months, we will still be working under quite exceptional conditions. Obviously, I might wish that we had received the necessary documents as soon as possible since scientific work, instruction and education requires, first of all, stable legal norms. I am counting on receiving a significant portion of these legal acts in September.

[Question] Are the model charter and other executive acts that have been prepared in any way subject to consultation with the academic community or at least with the rectors of the highest institutions?

[Answer] I cannot answer that question. I know that neither I nor any of several colleague rectors were asked our opinions. I am sorry that it happened that way because even from the example of the model charter, it is evident that it could have been given a better form, flexible enough for many different Polish institutions to fit within its framework. The model charter is very specific, and in many places there is nothing for us to do, but enter the names of our institutions. And even today we see that we have to turn to the minister for variances. For example, the model charter envisions that an institution will have only three prorectors. The University of Warsaw has five, and it must have five to handle all the responsibilities. It also stipulates that the directions of all research be listed in the charter. At the University of Warsaw, an enormous appendix would have to be added to the charter for this purpose. And if we were to initiate a new direction in

research, then would we have to change the charter immediately? We have many such questions.

[Question] Two weeks ago I spoke with Professor Gierowski of Jagiellonian University. When I asked him what the form of academic self-government would be within the framework of the laws presently in force, he said that he believes it to be completely possible to implement, although much more difficult than before. What is your opinion on this subject?

[Answer] I share the difficult optimism of Professor Gierowski. It seems to me that the institutions with far-sighted wisdom, emanating from a conscious conviction that it is actually on the educational centers, to a great extent, that the fate of Polish science and culture depends, will be able to take advantage of quite a broad range of self-government. Based on information from the ministry, I expect that this range will be broader if the institutions will concentrate mainly on matters of teaching and research, and to a lesser extent on public matters. Increasing the terms of self-government would result from a gradual giving up by the minister of the decrees addressed to the administrations of institutions. I hope that this will also be true of the University of Warsaw. This will actually be more difficult self-government since the academic community is traditionally accustomed to having a voice in community and national affairs, and it is just these question that will, in the nature of the matter, awaken controversy.

[Question] At the threshold of the new academic year, what would you like to say to the community of the University of Warsaw, or perhaps even more broadly, to the whole academic community?

[Answer] That we must be mindful of the fact that service to the nation is also work. In the life of a nation, there are times when it is actually work that is the most important service. We cannot, after all, allow a break in the continuity of tradition created by generations -- traditions of applying ourselves to science, transmitting knowledge, maintaining national identity. Let us then be a living and active institution; on behalf of education, let us fulfill the basic functions of a university for it is this that gives us, as an academic community, a mandate to speak on all other matters.

[Interviewer] Thank you.

2950

CSO: 2600/25

POLAND

MINISTER DEFENDS, DESCRIBES NEW POLISH-SOVIET SCI-TECH PROGRAM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Minister Konrad Tott, head of the Office for Scientific-Technical Progress and Applications, by Marzenna Spolnicka; date and location of interview not specified]

[Text] Several days ago, the draft of a long-term Polish-Soviet comprehensive program for scientific-technical progress was signed. It is a vital and extremely important supplement to previous agreements on economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

We spoke with Minister Konrad Tott, head of the Office for Scientific-Technical Progress and Application, on the hopes associated with this program and on what our economy may expect as a result of its implementation.

Konrad Tott: It is impossible not to see the benefits that can accrue to a country of average size that cooperates with a large country. A series of plants, and even entire subbranches, for example the air transport equipment industry, did not feel the effects of the crisis that plagued the Polish economy in recent years. They had stable, partnerly relations with corresponding Soviet enterprises, aid in materials procurement and assured markets of purchase. Here our political enemy may raise the issue of "dependency," but I would wish such dependency that produces scientific-technical progress measured in prototypes and data runs generated by Polish engineers on other subbranches.

The program sets up cooperation with the leading scientific and technical potential and with the experimental-production base. At the same time, the actual tasks comprised by the program are set up so that their implementation will bring up many technological, scientific and production processes to the level of world standards.

Good cooperation between partners disciplines the economy: agreements must be fulfilled and deadlines must be met. Other points to be made are the more rational division of labor, integration within the socialist camp that helps to moderate Western sanctions and the economic benefits expressed directly in

concrete indexes. At the same time, it is important that of the 15 major developmental directions that determine the development of our economy, 7 are included in the program.

TRYBUNA LUDU: We have been cooperating with the Soviet Union for years. What new things will be brought in by this program that was adopted less than a week ago; how does it differ from past agreements and understandings?

Konrad Tott: We have been working jointly for 40 years on a number of issues of interest to both countries. At the present time, there are about 300 such important problems that are in the various stages of implementation. I would define a comprehensive program of scientific-technical progress as a shift to a higher level of cooperation, above all a higher qualitative and organizational level.

It is different because it envisages cooperation in a full cycle: from research through applications, development, production and mutual deliveries. In addition to short-range and mid-range tasks, the program includes ventures planned to extend over a dozen or so years, to the year 2000. It is, at the same time, an open program, i.e., both sides may propose other added topics for the program than those currently written into the program.

TRYBUNA LUDU: One of the commentators stated that the time for friendly gestures has passed and that this agreement must be profitable for both sides. Let us speak then of the results.

Konrad Tott: Obviously, if the program were unprofitable to either party, it would not have been signed. Thus, there must be calculable results.

By comparison with this program, previous ones did not make such a rigorous statement of subjects, especially in the sphere of scientific-technical cooperation. Let us take an example. Four priority topics were proposed as a learning process. The first of these is the production of a fourth generation colored television using discrete elements. Specifications have been made for the technical requirements that include material, power consumption, cabinet dimensions and modern technologies.

Self-propelled elevators, the second topic, have been planned with an accuracy that includes the level of planned deliveries, production distribution and joint research methods. We hope to achieve a world standard, but first this standard and the requirements set for the products must be defined. The third subject: our line of "zuki" delivery trucks is ending and we need a 3.5-ton delivery truck. Finally, in addition to elevators, we have a tradition of producing couplings and electromagnetic brakes.

In these areas, whose implementation will yield considerable benefits to the economy quite rapidly, we will verify our organizational, legal and economic principles of cooperation.

TRYBUNA LUDU: But what do we have to impress Europe?

Konrad Tott: We are respected in many fields of science and technology. Our Soviet partner is demanding and precise in negotiations. He knows what he wants. The program encompasses seven directions: the electronization of the national economy, comprehensive automation, fuel-energy issues, new materials and the technologies for obtaining them, biotechnology, the development of the engineering industry and the production of high-quality market goods. Within these 7 basic areas, there are 85 major problems, made up in turn of 360 basic tasks. We are very good at many of these. We have specialists with extensive knowledge and experience and a decent research base and scientific cadre. On the other hand, in those fields where we lag behind, we have a chance to catch up.

TRYBUNA LUDU: Taking part in the program requires that we modernize our scientific-research base and industry as well. Will the outlays resulting from the implementation of the program exceed significantly the sums earmarked normally for development?

Konrad Tott: The program does not anticipate any concrete capital spending projects. At the same time, however, it must be kept in mind that the program will not be well implemented if the particular tasks are not taken into sufficient account in the National Socioeconomic Plan [NPSG]. In the area of scientific-technical progress, the NPSG is in balance. It includes real tasks with a calculable end result and indicates the who, what and when of individual projects.

TRYBUNA LUDU: It is not easy to prepare such a comprehensive and farreaching program.

Konrad Tott: Much effort has gone into its preparation. The year 1984 was crucial in its development. In May and June, the leaders of the USSR and Poland came to an agreement, in October a plan of the work of Intergovernmental Commissions arose and in December an agreement between the Committee for Science and Technical Progress and its Soviet counterpart was signed.

From the Polish side, the program is primarily the work of the Office for Scientific-Technical Progress and Applications that, as a matter of fact, has been in existence for only a little more than 6 months. We were aided by nine Polish institutes. The possibility of using the experiences of our Soviet comrades from the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology was invaluable.

Work continues on the so-called general terms of cooperation, e.g., the creation of joint research teams, design offices and personnel exchange not involving foreign currency, the incurring of joint outlays and coproduction deliveries.

We have made a major step forward in securing Polish-Soviet cooperation, but much remains to be done.

POLAND

BRIEFS

**SZCZECIN DEFENSE COMMITTEE**--The Szczecin Defense Committee conducted an evaluation of the progress of summer vacation along the coast of Szczecin and heard information about the progress of the harvest campaign and field work. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Sep 85 p 2] 9853

**1980 ACCORDS COMMEMORATED IN GDANSK, GDYNIA**--On 31 August of this year, the fifth anniversary of the signing of the social accord, known as the Gdansk accord, social delegations placed bouquets of flowers at the foot of shipyard monuments. In Gdansk, flowers were laid at the monument situated at gate No 2 of the Lenin Shipyard in the name of the Gdansk, Repair, and Northern Shipyard work forces; in the name of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] City Council, the Federation of Shipbuilders Trade Unions and in the name of the Freight Train and the Gdansk Port Repair Plants. In Gdynia, flower arrangements were placed at the obelisk situated at Czechoslowacka street by delegations from the Paris Commune Shipyard, from the Nauta Repair Shipyard as well as from the Naval, Polish Ocean Lines and Dalmor Shipyards and also from the Refrigeration Systems Enterprise. The ceremonies took place in an atmosphere of peace and solemnity. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Sep 85 p 5] 9853

**PARTY EDUCATION COMMISSION MEETS**--The PZPR Central Committee Commission for Education and Upbringing met at its most recent session. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary Tadeusz Porebski. The meeting attendees acquainted themselves with the material of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education which revealed the state of education of sociopolitical subjects in schools. The Commission members were informed about preparations for the new school year which begins on 2 September. They were also informed about the state of work on executive acts for the new legal regulations pertaining to science and higher education. Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary, was elected as the new commission chairman upon the recommendation of the Politburo. Among his responsibilities are matters pertaining to science and education. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Aug-1 Sep 85 p 2] 9853

**SD AUDIT COMMISSION MEETS**--The Central SD Audit Commission deliberated with the participation of the leading provincial audit commissions at the third plenary session. It was stated in the passed resolution that, among other things, in taking part in the Sejm elections, the SD members will declare themselves in

favor of strengthening democracy, the continuation of socialist renewal, national accord, strengthening our country's economy and building up our position in the world. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY 31 Aug-1 Sep 85 p 2] 9853

SIWICKI MEETS POZNAN AKTIVS--On 1 of this month [September], the PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member, Army General Florian Siwicki met in Poznan with the party and political aktivs in Poznan Province. The current sociopolitical and economic situation in the region and in the country was discussed as were the various forms of cooperation between the public and the Polish People's Army which are being implemented in Poznan Province. General Siwicki expressed recognition to the working class and to all the people in Wielkopolska for their efforts on behalf of the development of the province and the country. He wished further success in the work for the good of People's Poland. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Sep 85 p 2] 9853

GDANSK EDITOR OBITUARY--Editor Jerzy Dziewicki, distinguished editor for many years of the Gdansk press, died in Gdansk at the age of 67. He was a part of the Gdansk region from the time of its return to the Motherland and held a series of responsible, managerial journalist posts at several coastal publications, e.g., DZIENNIK BALTYCKI, GLOS WYBRZEZA, TYGODNIK MORSKI and GLOS STOCZNIOWCA. Between 1957 and 1968, he was the editor-in-chief of GLOS WYBRZEZA. He was an active member of the Sea-Coast Branch of the Association of Polish Journalists. The deceased was decorated with the Cavalier's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituti [Krzyz Kawalerski Orderu Odrodzenia Polski] and with honors of distinction: "Distinguished Citizen of Gdansk Territory", "For Service to the City of Gdansk", and "Distinguished Worker of the Sea-Coast Region." [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Sep 85 p 5] 9853

RAKOWSKI MEETS ELBLAG PARTY COMMITTEE--Deputy Premier M. F. Rakowski met with the members of the PZPR Provincial Committee secretariat in Elblag. The current socioeconomic problems of the region were discussed. The deputy premier also became acquainted with the work of the largest industrial enterprise in the province; i.e., "Zamech" mechanical plants. He visited a metallurgical factory and a turbine where he spoke with the workers about matters concerning the plant and the city, and also about the upcoming elections. He also met with the politico-economic aktiv of the plant. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Sep 85 p 2] 9853

PARTY IDEOLOGICAL CHIEF AT TWP MEETING--In connection with the approaching Ninth National Conference of the Society for the Popularization of Knowledge [TWP] and the new TWP educational year, Prof Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary, received the TWP Main Board Presidium with its chairman, Prof Janusz Gorski. The 35 years of achievements of the society were discussed as well as problems with the intensification of educational-cultural activity and also the participation of this organization in the Sejm elections campaign. The tasks of TWP in, among other things, the process of economic, historical and legal-civic education were also discussed. The director of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Department, Wladyslaw Loranc, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Sep 85 p 2] 9853



EDUCATION TALKS WITH GDR MINISTER--A delegation from the GDR Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education headed by the chief of that ministry, Prof Hans Joachim Boehme, paid a visit to our country between the 2nd and 4th of this month. The topic of discussions were the current problems and directions of the development of higher education in Poland and in the country of our neighbor to the west. The delegation visited the University of Warsaw and the Warsaw Institute of Technology as well as the Higher School of Engineering [WSI] and the Higher Pedagogical School [WSP] in Czestochowa. It met with the politico-administrative authorities of Czestochowa Province. Minister Boehme was received by Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrk and by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. The need for the further development of cooperation in the area of sociopolitical sciences and in the upbringing of youth was agreed upon. These agreements were entered into the protocol signed on Wednesday by the minister of science and higher education, Benon Miskiewicz, and by the minister of higher and vocational education in the GDR, Hans Joachim Boehme. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Sep 85 p 2] 9853

NEW GOMULKA BOOK--A publication entitled, "The Activity of Wladyslaw Gomulka--Facts, Recollections, Opinions", has been published by the KSIAZKA I WIEDZA publishing house. The author of the selection and study is Walery Namiotkiewicz. In the section entitled, "In Place of an Introduction", he writes, among other things, that the book was written with the conviction that it is worth recording the beginning of a new discussion which after years of silence is beginning to develop around the activity of Wladyslaw "Wieslaw" Gomulka. This discussion is not only of historical significance. Essentially, the subject of research are the experiences of history, which is not a closed chapter. What matters here are experiences which are the contribution of all living generations of Poles.... [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Sep 85 p 2] 9853

ANNIVERSARY OF GOMULKA'S DEATH NOTED--The following placed wreaths and bouquets of flowers on the grave of Wladyslaw Gomulka on 31 August--the eve of the third anniversary of his death: a PZPR Central Committee delegation made up of Politburo candidate members, Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak; a PZPR Provincial Committee delegation; veterans of the workers movement; representatives of the Warsaw ZBoWiD [Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy] and ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] chapters; representatives of party organizations and of the ZSMP at the Automobile Factory [FSO]; delegations from the "Warszawa" steelworks and from Wola work plants. Wladyslaw Gomulka's wife, Zofia, was present with her family. Honor military guards were placed in front of the grave. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Sep 85 p 2] 9853

GOMULKA CALLED 1980 ACCORDS 'UNREALISTIC'--Once, when "Solidarity" was at its peak, I asked Gomulka what, in his opinion, should be done in order to bring the country out of the crisis. He mentioned three things to me at that time. He felt that it was necessary to tell the whole brutal truth about the economic situation without holding back anything. Someone should have the guts to do this. Secondly, it is necessary to immediately bring about and with complete

consistency, a reassessment of investments. Thirdly, it is necessary to "tighten the belt" sharply and together. Finally, everything should be done to raise the value of the zloty (...) He was of the opinion that the unity of the trade movement should not be allowed to break up (....) What was Gomulka's attitude toward the decisions of management in August 1980 regarding negotiations with the strikers? He told me that such a social agreement should not have been signed; all the more, an agreement that cannot be implemented. The government authorities should have had it in them to say: This is unrealistic. [By Jan Ptasinski, publicist] [Excerpts] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 33, 18 Aug 85 p 3] 9853

COMPUTER CENTER OPENS--On 15 September, a Computer Center for Youth opened in Pulawy. The Polish Scout Union assumed patronage of one such center in Poland. The indispensable equipment was delivered by the Polish-British firm POLBRIT and by the Gdansk UNIMOR. The ceremonial opening of the scout center was conducted by Ryszard Wosinski, ZHP [Polish Scout Union] commander-in-chief, and by representatives of the funders, POLBRIT Director Piotr Kempa and UNIMOR Director Michal Rukarz. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 85 p 2] 8536

METHODIST CHURCH CONFERENCE--The 64th Annual Conference of the Methodist Church in the PRL deliberated from 12 to 15 September in Klarysew near Warsaw. The conference is the highest synodical gathering of this church, passing resolutions that regulate religious, social and educational activity. The special nature of this year's conference was associated with the 40th anniversary of legal recognition of the Methodist Church by state authorities. This took place in October 1945. Representatives of world Methodism took part in the ceremonies, led by Bishop F. Schaefer of the Geneva diocese. [Prepared by: mag] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Sep 85 p 2] 8536

AFRICAN BISHOP, MINISTER MEET--On 14 September, Minister Adam Lopatka, director of the Office for Religious Affairs, received Bishop Bernard Agre, ordinary of the diocese of Man (Ivory Coast), chairman of the conference of the West African Episcopate, who was visiting Poland on a working visit. He was accompanied by Father Henryk Kowalski from the Mission Office of the Polish Episcopate. Bishop B. Agre expressed his gratitude to the Polish authorities for their benevolent attitude to the missionary journeys made by the Polish clergy and reported on the pastoral work of Polish missionaries in Africa, as well as on further needs in this field. Minister Lopatka said that he was pleased with the existing cooperation between the Catholic Church in Poland and churches in African countries. (PAP) [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Sep 85 p 6] 8536

'PAX' EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITY-- The PAX Association ideological-political training year opened at the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw. Members of the association that take part in the work of the central cadre training center and regional cadre training centers came from all over Poland to participate in the opening ceremonies. Deputy Premier Zenon Komender, chairman of the board of the PAX Association, devoted his address to reflections on the road traveled by the socially progressive movement of PAX Catholics over the past

40 years and to analyzing and assessing ideopolitical and program achievements that demonstrate a close link between the history of PAX and the history of People's Poland. Z. Komender discussed the work of PAX that serves the cause of understanding between the church and the state. He brought to mind the enduring concept of the movement that states that the normalization of church-state relations can be secured permanently by society only through the existence of secular socialist forces acting upon the inspiration of the catholic world view. During the inaugural meeting, the tasks of the Center for Cadre Training and Ideological-Educational Work were outlined. [Prepared by: koj based on PAP information] [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Sep 85 p 6] 8536

CSO: 2600/38

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

PEOPLES COUNCIL APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Gheorghe Marinoiu is appointed to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bucharest Municipality Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 51, 19 Oct 85 p 4]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Emil Barbu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of electric power, Comrade Ion Popescu is appointed deputy minister of electric power, and Comrade Vasile Mihai is appointed deputy director general of Romanian Radiotelevision. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I, No 51, 19 Oct 85 p 4]

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CSO: 2700/20

YUGOSLAVIA

ANALYSIS ON POLITICAL SYSTEM ATTACKED, DEFENDED

[Editorial Report] From a report in Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA of 7 October 1985, pages 10-11, it appears that because of objections to the Critical Analysis on the Functioning of the Political System which were made at the 30 September meeting of the Federal Council for the Social Order (which commissioned the Analysis), a new version of the Analysis was to be prepared which would reflect "much more diversity." This new version would then be presented for public discussion in a month's time. However, the Presidency of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance was to decide whether and what kind of a public discussion should be held. The report said that many members of both the Council and the Vrhovec Commission (which spent much of this year drawing up the Analysis) were against starting from the beginning of this or reexamining suggestions which had already been thrown out.

EKONOMSKA POLITIKA, which has negatively commented on the Analysis in a number of issues, says that the Analysis, despite its stated desire to be anti-statist in orientation, shows "no trust in the working class and falls into normativism [solution through state regulation]," that the Commission itself, which reached decisions by consensus rather than majority vote in contradiction to the constitutional regulations of the Council, operated as a "little Chamber of Republics and Provinces," and was a victim of the republic-provincial statism it allegedly opposed. Moreover, the Analysis "offered no significant changes either in regard to the political system in the narrow sense (assembly, electoral system, role of the 'subjective factors') or in regard to changes in associated labor." The report disputed Vrhovec's statement that the Analysis rests on the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization, noting that the basic tendencies of the Program favor greater independence for economic enterprises, while the tendency in the Analysis is greater regulation in the economy and the imposition of more obligations (termed "rights") on work organizations, while "restricting more and more their freedom to manage and bear responsibility for their mutual relations."

According to the report, the Serbian delegate at the September meeting, Trifun Nikolic, said it cannot be suggested, as the Analysis does, that "only subjective weaknesses account for all the problems we face today," noting that action toward improvement is limited by the system. The report said "one of the suggestions which shook up the Council the most" was Nikolic's proposal that a third chamber be added to the SFRY Assembly, namely, a Chamber of Associated Labor which, "as he said, is only logical in a self-management society where the working class is in power."

An article in the 8 October 1985 issue of the Zagreb weekly DANAS, pages 5-8, airs the disagreement which the FEC (Federal Executive Council), specifically, vice president Mijat Sukovic, voiced against the Critical Analysis at an FEC meeting as early as 23 July. "It was said that in this phase of work the Critical Analysis is a basis for working out a final text; but it is not a document which mobilizes [people] to action and to change the present situation in society nor can it contribute to overcoming this situation. Neither in the depth of the analysis and judgment of the situation, nor in the grasp and selection of issues, nor in its proposals does it satisfy the needs which should be met. As a result, the FEC declared that the document does not adequately take into consideration the results which have already been attained, especially the work on analyzing individual questions which are of essential importance for a critical analysis of the functioning of the political system, such as: the long-term development of Yugoslavia, the realizing of joint interests in the federation, the problems in the functioning of the legal system, key elements in the functioning of a unified Yugoslav market, economic relations with foreign countries, etc."

Milutin Baltic, member of the Vrhovec Commission, argued with the FEC views, asserting that the "Analysis offers radical and big changes in the system of social reproduction and seeks and proposes changes aimed toward enabling the workers to control social reproduction." After indicating that the entire FEC did not share Sukovic's views, Baltic took the occasion to sharply criticize the Draft Social Plan to 1990 because "it was not worked out in cooperation with the organizations of associated labor of the republics and provinces although it calls for the republics to provide 75 percent of the capital accumulation for joint programs."

The 22 October 1985 issue of DANAS, pages 10-12, interviews another member of the Commission, Zvonko Spoljar, who, while defending the Commission's work and the Critical Analysis, says that differences arose in the Commission on two basic issues: first, the question of whether the role of the OOURs [basic organizations of associated labor] should be reduced and one should return to the work organization or enterprise concept which he said was "unacceptable because it would, in fact, liquidate associated labor"; and second, the question of relations in the Federation, on which, he alleged, the differences were basically overcome. Namely, it said, it was agreed that better implementing of Article 244 of the Constitution should resolve the problems of excessive republic and provincial power to the disadvantage of self-management and the federation, and that no changes should be made in the structure of the SFRY Assembly. He was asked what major changes in the Constitution were suggested by the Commission, since little information is known except that the Commission recommended changes in 27 articles of the Constitution. Spoljar replied that the changes related to narrowing the "broad categories of the social and other sectors (including the SIZs [self-management communities of interest]), on which a great deal of money and work is expended"--with the aim of strengthening self-management relations rather than state intervention. The Analysis also recommended stricter measures to ensure the uniform implementing of federal laws.

In regard to the Law on Associated Labor [ZUR], Spoljar said the Critical Analysis "envisioned a number of innovations in regard to planning, the banking system, the pooling of labor and resources, classifying and specifying relations in regard to living and working conditions (joint needs, the economic infrastructure), the work organizations' disposal of social funds, strengthening the responsibility of business organs, etc."

When asked if these changes would be understood as restricting the self-management rights of workers, Spoljar replied that such an understanding would be mistaken, that the "inalienable rights of the workers" would not be touched, but that, among other things, Article 13 of the ZUR dealing with these rights would be spelled out more precisely in an attempt to overcome the entrenchment of incapable workers in jobs by reducing the number of "protective mechanisms" from five to two or three stages of appeal.

In conclusion, Spoljar acknowledged that what some termed "radical changes" did not go far enough for others, but said there was no other way to go. "Where would we go? Either to state socialism or to restoration of bourgeois relations. Who can defend such a return? The only thing left to us is to defend the basic orientations of the present constitutional and political system and...at the same time to be open and critical toward that which is not good in practice, which creates crisis and conflicts...."

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